

# The Catholic University Bulletin.

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*OCTOBER, 1903.*

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"Let there be progress, therefore; a widespread and eager progress in every century and epoch, both of individuals and of the general body, of every Christian and of the whole Church, a progress in intelligence, knowledge and wisdom, but always within their natural limits and without sacrifice of the identity of Catholic teaching, feeling and opinion."—ST. VINCENT OF LERINS, *Commonit.* c. 6.

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## LEO XIII.

The great personalities of history justly demand from their critics a large background of time. They are not unlike the great phenomena of nature and the great masterpieces of the artist that in one way or another overwhelm the onlooker. His troubled judgment regains its poise and security only when it is free to compare, to estimate relatively, and to master piece-meal the unusual and the extraordinary. It is not too bold to say that we understand Julius Cæsar better to-day than his contemporaries did, that we are better informed on the growth of the Roman city than Livy, that the full significance of the French Revolution is only now dawning on our minds. Such thoughts are not unnatural when we come to deal with Leo XIII, no longer as the pilot at the wheel, but as *functus officio*, called home to render an account of his long and memorable pontificate. The papacy is preeminently a service of the Christian world—for immemorial ages the pope has loved to style himself "the servant of the servants of God." The natural criterion, therefore, of any pontificate is the service rendered the Christian cause. The person of every pope is usually merged in the work of his great office. The great majority were heads of the Church for the time being, and are remembered only as such. Occasionally, however, a giant personality appears on the scene, and so dominates by strength of character, fixity of will, and clearness of vision, the multitudinous forces of the Church that they bear for a long time the

impress of his direction. Leo XIII was such a pope, and we may believe that his name will never cease to shine with peculiar brilliancy in the catalogue of those Bishops of Rome who did most to realize the purpose of their high office, who saw to it that the "*Respublica Christianorum*" suffered no detriment and that the boundaries of its spiritual influence were widened and consolidated.

He has been called the last of the mediæval popes, and there is some truth in the assertion. The intellectual revolt that began with Martin Luther has rounded itself out with a certain universality and finality only in our own days. The political changes inaugurated by the French Revolution have reached a certain fixity of type in all that pertains to the government of humanity—in one way or another the actual will of the people is the predominant factor. For over a century the legislations of Europe have been undergoing modification and adaptation to the new circumstances of civil life. In the material order a century of invention lies behind us that has profoundly modified all past influences of space and time on human affairs. Our native earth has been thrown open from pole to pole, and its last secret places given over to universal curiosity and utility. Nor could these new conditions of human life have reached their present "*assiette*" without affecting the temperament of the average man. He has become more cosmopolitan, more conscious of natural rights, more proud of his rights and capacities, more inclined to make himself the measure of all things. Printing now scatters all men's thoughts with the velocity and accuracy of the subtlest forces of nature. Travel and reading have made of history and geography educational forces in a sense and a degree hitherto unconceivable. Whatever be the outcome of this far-reaching revolution there can be no doubt that civilized humanity has finally moved out and away from the political, social, and economic conditions of the past; that in the Western world, at least, as compared with the Orient, the end of one great era coincides with the opening of another.

When Leo XIII took up in 1878 the succession of Pius IX, all this was true; since then each decade has more strikingly accentuated such considerations. Naturally, they were the

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very first to commend themselves to a bishop grown old in the service of Catholicism, and finally raised to its supreme government amid local and general circumstances of a kind more complex and adverse than had surrounded the papacy for centuries. His resources were neither few nor contemptible. He had around him a corps of bishops who were the flower of Catholic education and life, most of them prominent factors in all the religious and mixed problems of the time, and many of them veteran centurions in the unceasing warfare of ideas, systems and policies. The pope is no Inca, no Grand Llama, and though his directive and judicial powers are great, they are translated into acts and systematic efficiency by reason of the episcopate. He is the "episcopus episcoporum," but no one recognizes more readily, or has confessed more eloquently, than the Bishop of Rome that his brethren share the same apostolic origin, the same divine mandate, the same unfailing promises. Leo XIII could also count on the vast and universal institutional strength of Catholicism, both in men and things, a power so intimately interwoven with all civilized life, so rooted in immemorial Catholic habit, so saturated with tenderest affection and holiest hopes, that for efficiency it was like a sixth sense. The humiliations, perils, and degradation of a century had quickened this great force in an incredible degree. A growing charity had informed it with fresh vigor, and the new channels of human intercourse were no less useful to it than the unity of the Roman Empire and the Greek tongue had been to the first missionaries of Catholicism.

In all Catholic lands an identity of doctrine and discipline had been preserved; only archaisms of heresy and schism afflicted the sound remnant of Catholicism that had come through the French Revolution. The Catholic people were united in the Old and the New World; they were confident that the chalice of sufferings had been drained to the dregs, and that amid the new conditions of human life, conditions won by and favorable to the democracy, the Catholic Church could not but find herself again in a position to confirm and consecrate those just rights and aspirations of the common people for which she fought so constantly in the thousand years from Chlodwig to Charles the Fifth, and for defending which she

has ever been detested by those men of violence and cunning, those doctrinaires and bureaucrats, who from century to century afflict mankind with their selfishness and their narrowness.

Such was the equipment of the venerable office of Leo XIII, rated at its highest efficiency, and with reservation of a multitude of local and temporary drawbacks. To these advantages the new pope brought certain peculiar quantities of mind and heart; above all a long experience as Christian shepherd in the heart of a land more than any other given over to the discussion of ecclesiastical questions and interests, where countless thousands of monuments recall daily the beneficent action of Catholicism through twenty centuries, where the character of the people is, in an absolute sense, the creation of Catholicism, and where the language itself, both that of literature and that of its endless dialects, is one enormous thesaurus of the varied influence of religion on the Italian man in his entirety. Thirty years in that old Umbrian stronghold, where one can even now stand in the sombre city-gate built in the time of Augustus and named for him, and look out over the valleys and slopes and knolls made sacred forever to our common humanity by the footsteps and the high dreams of the "Poverello" and his holy brethren—thirty years in such a retired nook of modern life seem to have been a fitting vestibule to the splendid theatre on which Leo XIII was one day to appear as spokesman of Jesus Christ to a humanity bewildered, confused, morally headless and hopeless. Already this humanity was subtly and prophetically conscious that government and legislation, human knowledge and material comfort, were no final and impregnable barrier to certain human instincts that make always for the oppression and enslavement of the multitude, and no less surely to-day than when they were harnessed to the chariot of a Pharaoh, and bore him securely over the prostrate necks of a care-worn and broken-hearted multitude. It was soon seen that in the Vatican there sat a philosopher on the throne of Peter, a Christian philosopher it is true, yet a man of experience well digested, of elevated views, of solid working principles, temperate withal in action and speech, content to stand on a certain common ground with the representatives of a sane and useful conservatism in all that pertained to the

strengthening of Christian life and persuasion among modern men.

Each succeeding year added to the esteem and affection that went out to him from the beginning. Mild and conciliatory by his habit of life, his calling as a priest, and the breadth of his reading and observation, he seems to have felt instinctively that he was moving along a dividing-line in the history of mankind; that his eye was better occupied in forecasting each immediate advance, rather than in dwelling on the silent past that had no clear message for the tangle of new situations which he was called to unravel. He dealt in turn with burning questions and intricate problems that brought him into close personal contact with rulers of nearly all civilized states, as the large annual volumes of his "Acta" make known to us. He found among his clients whole peoples and races approaching him with a novel directness and an affectionate importunity. He held daily confidential conversation with all kinds and conditions of men, from the venerable senators of his council to genuine persecutors of his people and enemies of the faith of Christ. An endless procession of miscellaneous humanity clamored for a view of his person, a word from his lips, a blessing from his aged heart. Probably no pope since the days of Peter was ever in such intimate touch with all the actual currents of human thought and sentiment as Leo XIII. The world of to-day, above all of to-morrow, was his library, and the books of the most value to him were those human hearts that came in throngs to reveal the secret of their woes, the arguments of their hope, the reasons of their despair.

No one lives long in Rome with impunity for any intellectual narrowness he may have brought with him. And a society like that of the nineteenth century, smarting with an undefined sense of injustice that it could not track beyond itself, was the last to escape the soothing influence of a kindly, if aged, physician whose diagnosis of its ills it more than half acknowledged to be true. Behind him there arose dimly the figure of the Ecclesia herself, no longer the caricature of violent and embittered partisans, but the superb matronly figure that fascinated the souls of mediæval men, until they carved it in an immortal eloquence of stone on the walls of Chartres

and Strassburg, and in a no less immortal eloquence of poetry in the *Paradiso* of Dante. Immovable faith and rock-like conviction are a dynamite capable of shattering the most appalling obstacles—they shook and overthrew the Empire of the Cæsars, than which a more reasonable and compact state has not yet appeared among men. They were visible and tangible in the White Shepherd of the Vatican, while the multitude no longer saw them in the universal opportunism of the times, and the equally universal and irresistible decay of the original timbers of Christian faith outside of Catholicism. No doubt many natural reasons conspire to explain the movement of Christian mankind towards Rome in the latter quarter of the nineteenth century. Yet, it is by no stretch of self-interested imagination that the personality of Leo XIII is made to account for this fascination. During more than a quarter of a century of pontificate he had withstood the usual tests of popularity, and revealed in himself a superior human soul rich with all the culture of education and life, liberal and sympathetic in an unexpected degree, in an age of philanthropy devoted without reserve to the welfare of our common society. If his remedies for its woes were only those of the gospel, it was because he had nothing substantial to offer from himself, being no more than a mouthpiece of Jesus Christ, doing for Him vicarious duty, and preaching to all humanity those remedies of the God-Man that can alone allay the fever and the pain of our complicated ills. That he did not preach in vain the great social lessons of the gospel may be inferred from the unexampled outburst of sympathy that his illness and death provoked in the non-Catholic world. When we have made all just deductions, it remains true that for the first time since the death of the tenth Leo has there been anything like a common sorrow among Christians over the death of a common spiritual father. The potential quality of such sympathy is infinite; it honored at once the recipient and the givers. At the least, it added no new barrier to the hope of reconciliation; to some optimistic spirits it appears like the faint flushing of a dawn long-awaited for, when the prayer of Jesus Christ shall again have its fulfilment, and unity of faith be once more a reality among all Christians.



Whatever the future interest of mankind in Leo XIII, the Catholic clergy will long cherish his memory for his unfaltering devotion to the education of its members. The twenty-six volumes of his public documents contain hundreds of references to this all-important subject. Around it is already springing up a notable literature that gives evidence of the deep feelings that have been stirred in every Catholic land and in all Catholic peoples by these clarion notes of Leo XIII. It is not possible that there should be a retrogression—such intellectual currents once let loose are no longer controllable. There is no large department of ecclesiastical science that he has not illustrated by the light of his genuine genius for exposition. He wrote frequently to the Catholic episcopate concerning the creation and reformation of studies in all seminaries. He established academies, high schools, and special institutes at Rome, and encouraged similar works elsewhere. He was prodigal of approval to Catholic scholars, and aided efficiently private literary enterprise likely to honor the cause of Catholicism. It was only to be expected that in these countless utterances he should always insist on the purity and integrity of Catholic faith—but he also insisted on vigor, enterprise, spontaneity in that holy cause. More than one of his crisp phrases has become a watchword to ardent young clerics of France and Germany and Italy. He was a man of inspiring and suggestive power, in whom ardor and ambition for the cause of God were at least the equal of any similar devotion in his own time to purely profane ideals.

The need, scope, and utility of universities, that would not only refrain from injury to the interests of Catholicism, but positively aid them, were never absent from his mind. He knew that any Catholic primary and secondary education that does not culminate in a higher Catholic education of the university type, is only a feeder of infidelity—at long range if you will—but destined either to shut off Catholic youth from the offices, emoluments and benefits of such a higher education, or else to abandon it completely at the end to those very influences against which so great and costly provision had been made in the foundation of Catholic parochial schools, academies and colleges. Wherever an opening occurred for the foundation

of a Catholic university, his coöperation and advice were freely given. His interest in such works was constant and his disappointment keen when they failed to prosper with the rapidity of his own ardent desires. His mind was constituted broadly and generously, and easily leaped over, by the eagerness of anticipation, the inherent difficulties of similar enterprises, difficulties that only severe experience reveals and only time can remove.

He was the founder of the Catholic University of America, and the most precious documents in its "Chartularium" will always be those that emanated from him. His colossal statue graces its halls as an eternal memento of the hopes that he based upon the enterprise. It is well known that, as his pontificate wore on, he came more and more to believe that in the United States was to be looked for the freest and most generous development of Catholic Christianity. Correspondingly he was persuaded that our Catholic education should be crowned with a university suited to the needs of our religion and our fatherland. Almost at the hour of his death he was engaged in plans for its welfare, especially for the more active execution of the original plans approved by himself, after frequent and minute consultation with the representatives of the American hierarchy. May his spirit long live with us, and spur us to some completion of his holy ambition! Leo XIII will surely be put down among those popes who have deserved best of ecclesiastical learning. It is not too much to say that he did more than any of his predecessors to revive the ideals of a Benedict XIV. May we not hope that in the centuries to come this Alma Mater will always strive to be held worthy of its descent from such a noble lineage?

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.



## THE ETHICS OF THE LABOR UNION.

During the summer just past, we have seen many important events in the history of organized labor. Although no great strike has disturbed industrial life, yet countless minor troubles have caused inconvenience and have invited severe criticism. Manufacturing and building operations have been seriously interfered with, an element of great uncertainty has entered into all contract work undertaken under a time limit and into all business that requires stability among its factors. Evidences of fraud on the part of some representatives of labor have been discovered, strong threats by a few leaders have attracted the attention of the press, which has begun, in a certain way, a determined campaign against unionism. The courts in some localities have been liberal with the injunction, fervent in expressing bitter condemnation of the principles of unionism and in enunciating theories concerning inherent rights which they mistake for contingent rights. With all of this, the conviction that socialism is developing is wide-spread and there is a feeling that between unionism and socialism deep sympathy exists. As a result of the situation, public attention is slowly turning its piercing eye towards labor unions. The impression is one of condemnation. Now, no observant man can fail to realize that unionism is not to be destroyed; some principles as the unions declare them, will remain. The concessions of many employers as to the rights and functions of unions have great and favorable influence on their growth. Unionism in some form as a social factor will influence our future. It will lose in radicalism as it gains in power, but the change will come from within; not so much in the change of principle as in improvement of method, in the elevation of the character of its representative men, and in the gradual modification of our institutions. To-day, the world judges unionism by its representatives, its mistakes and its psychological limitations. It were wiser to judge it also by its necessity, its historical origin, its feeling and its logic. In the following pages an attempt is made to show the feeling and

the logic of the unions, without, however, working out a detailed comparison between them and the situation that they attack.

In making an effort to understand the ethics of the labor union as a theoretical system according to which the unions attempt to reconstruct industrial relations, it is necessary to guard against confusion in the points of view. When exposition is a writer's sole purpose, he is not called upon to approve or condemn, nor is he required to call attention to every concrete detail which may bear on the thought in question. This is the reader's task. At the same time, one must guard faithfully against such a presentation as of itself seems to carry an argument for or against the principles which are to be merely described. For that reason, it may be helpful to suggest a few general thoughts before undertaking the exposition of the ethical principles which labor unions teach.

In its conflict with capital, labor has placed itself squarely on an ethical basis. Its demands are inspired by the idea of justice and right, not by that of economic or social progress immediately. The unions have evolved a code of rights and obligations by which they desire to reconstruct industrial relations. They are in a position to govern themselves to a considerable extent by these principles, but they can not control the employer or force him to see as they do, except when he is content to deal with them. Granting union principles to be true, they connote only general corresponding obligations which may stand against society as a whole rather than against any particular individual.

The employer stands practically on a business basis. He is not ethically obliged to go into business. He studies a situation carefully, sees an opportunity for successful industry. He is free, he addresses himself to free laborers—as he thinks, and he enters into business relations with them with the thought of mutual interest. The employer studies, risks, arranges; his individuality appears in the business world; he is responsible for the quality of his product. The laborer's individuality does not appear. The employer was free, is free; the laborer was free, is free to work or not to work for him. It is a matter of business, free contract and

free understanding. Certain conditions of fact limit this freedom. The employer must pay wages that will attract men; otherwise they will desert him. He must pay living wages, or his men can not live. In addition, the general run of the factors of competitive industry will largely fix wages without much specific influence on the part of the employer. The union tries to lift industry to the ethical plane, while the employer holds it to the plane of business, free contract, voluntary association for mutual benefit. A complete study of the situation would require an analysis of the principles of the unions, the principles of the employers, and the assumptions of fact made by both. At present, the principles taught by the labor unions alone are exposed, with no other view than to assist the reader to understand the issue.

Striving is the law of all healthy life. Wherever we find it, be it in the tree, the tiger, the laborer or king, life strives. It is eager to develop, to preserve itself, to reach full proportions, to realize latent possibilities, and to resist decay. Hence we see growth everywhere; when growth has ceased, death has begun. The essential thought of life is perpetuation, increase, progress. This general truth of the physical order is paralleled in the mental, the moral, the spiritual, the psychological orders as well, provided no abnormal elements appear. Discontent with present achievement, eagerness for a greater, is universally found in normal man. The really learned man seeks more learning, the powerful seek new strength, the righteous seek greater justice. From schools and university chairs, and pulpits, from literature and the press, from leaders and teachers comes the one cry "Be eager, strive, grow. Contentment is death; discontent is divine." Ambition is merely energetic discontent; without it the world would scarcely move.

All of the social classes into which society is ordinarily divided reveal this same law normally. The rich seek more wealth, the learned seek more knowledge, the cultured seek more refinement. Class ideals dominate and support their members. Were any class to fail to show this striving, this ambition, it would be doomed. Generally, strong classes show it more than weak classes, for strength means abundant life

and weakness means low vitality. The social class wherein this eagerness, ambition, striving had till recently shown itself least, is the laboring class. It appeared comparatively late in the history of the modern laboring class because the class was socially weak. But where the consciousness of strength came, labor was awakened to hope, to ambition, to eager striving. This awakening, in itself the best promise of progress that society knows, to-day, has created the labor unions. They represent only a minority of the wage earners but it is a minority that is awake, eager, ambitious.

The laborer desires what all life demands plus what normal growing human beings want; more life, larger development, latent powers unfolded and opportunity guaranteed. The only absolute inalienable human right is that of development; a right prior to and more sacred than all property rights and institutional rights of human history. Consequently the enlightened laborer in aiming to enlarge the circle of life, demands that all secondary contingent rights which hinder him, yield to his basic right. This position of labor means that the laborer demands leisure, culture, more home life, higher enjoyment, all extending the margin of life out considerably beyond the narrow circle of physical existence and labor, and this at the expense of the property interests of the employer. This initial demand of labor, therefore, is not the work of demagogues; it is nature, history, life. Discontent cannot be eliminated from society. It represents a law higher than individuals, one which is permanent in its action and independent of every form of political and social institution. These last named give to this demand definiteness and measure but the law is absolute in life.

Coming now to see the form in which the fundamental eagerness and striving of labor expresses itself, we are brought directly into relation with social and political institutions and standards.

In present conditions, laborers possessing only labor power work for owners of capital. The former receive a share in the industrial product which is called wages. Ordinarily the wages received determine the possibility and opportunity which the laborer enjoys, of personal development, his opportunity of

education, moral, spiritual and social refinement, home life. This being a condition of institutions and fact, by which the laborer is confronted, he converts his general, natural, striving for fuller life, development, refinement, into a concrete definite demand for fair just wages. This demand rests on the idea of his dignity and rights as a man, or the law of nature which allows to him opportunity of reasonable development and imposes on society the moral duty of adjusting institutions so that this may be made possible. In addition, laborers believe that they vitalize capital, that they create the profits on which capital thrives; that labor is an integral factor in the industrial process and consequently that they ask only what is of their own creation in demanding fair just wages.

The next claim logically made by laborers is that the father of the family should earn this wage for his family; that the wife and mother should remain in the home and the children be at play or in the school. The integrity of the home, its sacredness against the inroads of industry is here defended. The protest is not against helpful, educating work for children, which is regulated to further their growth; this itself is education of the most practical kind. This right to a family wage for the father is not prominently maintained in the labor movement to-day, though it belongs to its logical system.

The laborer now assumes as a fact, that this fair wage cannot be secured by unaided individual effort in the present organization of society. He assumes that it can be secured by organization, and by that means alone. Hence he claims that unionism, the organization of labor into united bodies for concerted action is a right and duty. It is not specifically a formal natural right and duty; it is contingently so. The facts which make up the situation from which the laborer takes his inspiration are easily summarized.

Laborers must work in order to live. They must work for owners of capital. These latter are competitors among themselves, each seeking profit and power. Hence the tendency to reduce expenses to a minimum. Wages are held down, great risks to life and health are imposed upon laborers (as best seen in mining and on railroads), sanitation and safety appliances are neglected, hours of labor are lengthened. The employer



is immeasurably stronger than the individual laborer. Women and children are employed in competition with men. All of these conditions have been seen during the last century. The physical, moral, social, intellectual and religious development of the laboring class has actually suffered greatly because of these conditions. While this was the case, laborers were hearing much about democracy, equality, the rights of man, the function of government and its duty to protect the weak. The modern state busied itself with the political condition of its citizens but it did not concern itself with their industrial condition. When therefore the industrial and social condition of the laboring class became critical the state manifested no impulse to improve it. At the same time, the new industrial relations had grown away from traditional law, but having no actual statutes to fit, our courts have endeavored to stretch the old to fit the new. Thus neither State nor legislature nor courts quieted the fears of labor in the threatening development which confronted it. Religion could not aid it effectively, no matter how much its teaching showed sympathy for its wrongs. Schools and universities might teach in sympathy but such teaching made little headway against the currents of industry that were sweeping the race into their mad rush. Thus laborers internally led by nature, to striving and to ambition, encouraged by political teaching to believe in their human rights, taught the view of larger life; led to the knowledge of development which conditions denied to them, unaided by State or specific law, convinced that they had wrong to right, they were driven to the one result—to organize—to unite and ask gently or secure forcibly the consideration of their rights by modern society. Thus organization is looked upon as a duty by laborers; and as a natural right, as against those employers who deny or oppose the right of the union to exist and to act. From now on, in our study, the individual laborer disappears from view and the class, the union replaces him.

#### THE UNION AND ITS MEMBERS.

If the reader will hold in mind the thought already advanced, he will see in what follows only logical deductions, bold as they may appear. The union believes itself to be

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necessary and ethically sanctioned. It claims consequently the power to govern the laborers in their work; to fix wages, hours, conditions of work for them. The individual is merged into the class and the class acts in and through the union. This is the distinctive note of the union. Consequently it aims at a monopoly of its trade and seeks to control the entire supply of labor in any given line. In present conditions, it has no sanction other than to fine or to expel a member. Thus the individual's total industrial liberty is given up to the union. In return the union aims to secure higher wages, better protection for life and limb, shorter hours and improved conditions of labor generally.

#### THE UNION AND THE EMPLOYER.

The union exists to coerce the employers into granting better conditions to labor; hence the two are in tendency antagonistic. The employer refuses to recognize a union, refuses to deal with its members, or he may refuse to employ union labor. As against him the union claims the right to exist, to act, to represent the laborers and to deal with him. Once recognized, the union claims the right to joint jurisdiction with the employer in conducting business. Conditions at present give the employer a monopoly of the authority and property of business; the former because of the latter. Labor and capital are coöperating factors, as such they are intrinsically related. Labor is as much an integral part of the industrial process as capital. It does not understand why all authority should be thrown to the capital partner and none to the labor partner. In the union's demand for joint jurisdiction, labor's whole claim is really voiced. The determination of wages, hours and conditions is to be made concurrently by representatives of capital and labor. Logically, then the union claims the right to make demands for labor, to enforce these demands, if necessary by the strike; to protect the strike by hindering in any legitimate manner the non-unionist from replacing the striker and to withhold patronage from any employer who opposes organized labor.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Carroll D. Wright describes the nature of this joint jurisdiction in these words. "The union . . . insists that recognition means a trade agreement with it by which the union shall take part in fixing the conditions, and,

## THE UNION AND THE NON-UNIONIST.

The members of the union are presumably the most advanced laborers. They are men who take in view the economic tendencies, who believe that they see peril to labor and to society and civilization in the unchecked power of capital. They believe that the laboring class must save itself; in so doing perform a noble work for humanity. As this can be done only by organization, it is the duty of laborers to unite—to enter the unions. The power of the union depends on its monopoly of labor, the laborer who refuses to join the union neutralizes its influence. Most of the energy, time and much of the funds of unions are expended on organization. Men are sent about the country to arouse the sentiment, to encourage organization and effect it. The claim that labor is a trust and merits denunciation misses an essential difference in that it is the trust of the weak against the trust of the strong as viewed by laborers themselves.

## THE UNION AND LAW.

When as was once the case, the right of association was greatly restricted, unions had to win right of organization. To-day in the United States it is universally recognized. The unions do not incorporate—though this is allowed—because of the possibility of unlimited prosecution to which they might easily be subjected. The unions watch legislatures and generally support legislative committees whose purpose it is to promote labor legislation and hinder any that might be antagonistic to its interests. The unions further claim the right to represent labor before the courts whenever, as is the case with granting of injunctions, the interests of labor are threatened. The situation in theory may be resumed in a way something like the following:

to a certain extent, shall dictate the terms under which labor is employed." The employer's view is thus formulated in the principles held by the National Metal Trades Association. "We recognize that as the realization of mutual benefits represented in the profits and earning from our joint labors, depends largely on the employer finding a suitable market for the product, he can best determine the methods of work, the selection of employees and the character of the work to be performed by each." See *Bulletin* of the National Metal Trades Association, Oct., 1903. Only employers unfriendly to unions are kept in mind.



## FUNDAMENTAL ASSUMPTIONS.

1. Natural forces themselves do not insure wages that are fair and just, the standard of justice being the laborer's human right to human development.

2. Laborers play the most important part in the production of wealth, hence they are actually factors in industry, with the rights of factors.

3. In present conditions the individual cannot secure fair wages.

4. Organization is the only means available, by which justice can be secured.

Guided by these assumptions, the following rights are claimed by laborers.

## THE RIGHTS OF THE INDIVIDUAL.

To increasing human development, larger higher life.

To fair just wages—justice being measured by this higher right.

The father of the family shall normally earn this wage.

Individuals shall unite to secure it by organized action.

## THE RIGHTS OF THE UNION.

*In Regard to Members.*

To govern and to represent them in their industrial relations.

*In Regard to Employers.*

1. Recognition by the employer.

2. As authorized representative of the labor partner in industry, the union has the right to joint jurisdiction with the employer. Hence,

3. The union may make demands for labor, enforce demands by strike, protect the strike by the use of peaceable means to hinder non-unionists from replacing strikers.

*In Regard to Laborers Generally.*

1. The union—in view of the assumptions made—has a right to a monopoly of the trade, the laborer having the correlative duty to join the union.

2. The union has the right to propogate unionism unhindered by law or employer or court.

*In Regard to the State.*

1. The union has the right to exist and to act.
2. To represent the interests of labor before legislatures and courts.

Analyzed, the movement shows the following elements in its spirit. The natural striving of humanity for betterment: the positive teaching of our political philosophy, extended to industrial relations; the neglect of legislatures, courts and the failure of religion and schools to protect labor effectively; the tyranny, inhumanity, injustice and arrogance of capital.

It will be seen at a glance that the whole situation of the unions reduces itself to the assumptions of fact above referred to. Once they are granted to be true, the logic of the further positions is certainly strong. But the task of proving those assumptions is extremely difficult. We can see readily that a dangerous social tendency has been checked by the unions and that they have undoubtedly worked great good. It is not difficult to believe that they are destined to work still greater good—in one or another form; but the actual concrete proof of the assumptions on which the code rests is by no means easy. Skill or lack of skill on the part of the laborer; economy or extravagance, industry or laziness, drink and many other aspects of individual life and action within the power of men to a large degree, are factors in fixing the lot of the laborer and determining his share in culture and happiness. If the laborers were individually faultless and unable to secure justice, it seems that the world would be with them in their demand for justice. While there is a large element of personal individual fault in them, they will have difficulty in proving to the unwilling world the truth of their assumptions. Those whose hearts are with the striving and hoping of laborers, are none the less their friends, when they express the hope that the unions will realize this—and aim to merit justice fully before they condemn the institutions under which we live.

WILLIAM J. KERBY.

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## THE CHRISTIAN AGAPÉ.

The Agapé, the "Love Feast" of primitive Christian times, has recently been called "one of the obscurest problems, if not one of the eternal enigmas in the history of the Church." The statement was true when it was made, but there are signs that it shall be true no longer. The same writer who, in such strong terms, calls attention to the mystery enveloping the Agapé, has started, by his work, a controversy that promises to do away with the mystery.

In 1901, Mr. J. F. Keating, of Edinburgh, presented for the degree of doctor of divinity in Cambridge University, a dissertation entitled "The Agapé and the Eucharist."<sup>1</sup> His ambition in writing, he admits, was not to add largely to what was already known on the subject, "but to attempt to bring together such illustrative sources as are available in heathen and Jewish literature, to pass under review the various references or allusions to the Agapé in the New Testament and the Fathers and to compare the extant 'Ordinances' on the subject with one another."<sup>2</sup>

Whether or not, in thus marshalling the forces for the defense, he intended to provoke the attack of any lurking party of the opposition, such has been the consequence of his work. Mgr. Batiffol, rector of the Catholic University of Toulouse, has taken occasion of Dr. Keating's array of information, to make a general attack upon the traditional view of the Agapé. In the fourth of a series of studies in positive theology,<sup>3</sup> he has controverted not alone the details of Dr. Keating's findings, but has made bold to deny *in toto* almost every conclusive statement of his opponent, to undermine every position taken by him, to question every reasoning urged by him, to contradict his every exegesis—in a word, to deny not only the liturgical character of the Agapé, its connection with the Holy Eucharist, but its very existence as an authorized and distinctive feature of early Christian life.

<sup>1</sup> London, Methuen, 1901.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. v. vi.

<sup>3</sup> "Etudes d'Histoire et de Théologie Positive," Paris, Lecoffre, 1902.

There the controversy began. It has not yet ended, but has already engaged the talents of some of the best archæologists of the day.<sup>4</sup> And it is well that there be an exchange of opinion on this historico-liturgical question. It has been the misfortune of the Agapé to remain undebated. There has been until now a most surprising uniformity of opinion among the learned in this matter. Muratori and Bingham had spoken, and Augusti, Mamachi, Migne, Martigny, Smith, Kraus, Herzog, and even Hastings, were content with little more than variously worded reiterations of the dicta of the masters.

Their teaching on the Agapé has been substantially as follows: that the custom was a continuation of our Lord's habit of eating and drinking with His disciples, and especially—as most maintain—a conscious imitation of the quasi-sacred ritual of the Paschal supper: that the Agapé was, therefore, intimately associated with the celebration of the Blessed Eucharist, so intimately in fact, as to form the preparatory rite which led up to and culminated in the Sacrament and Sacrifice; that in origin it was strictly primitive; if it was not included in our Lord's memorable "Breaking of the Bread"<sup>5</sup> with His disciples after His resurrection, it was at least the daily action of the Church of Jerusalem in the days immediately following the first preaching of St. Peter;<sup>6</sup> that thenceforth, it enjoyed a morally continuous existence, and was, presumably, of universal observance; that,—naturally enough, though unfortunately,—this habit of taking food and drink in the assembly, led to serious abuses, and that, consequently, as early as the time of St. Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians, it was necessary to reform the custom; that the abuses were corrected, and the Agapé took new life and continued down through the second, third and fourth centuries: that, however, as early as the beginning of the second century it ceased to serve its primary purpose—that of a preparation for the Eucharist—but it continued as an observance of quasi-liturgical character, taking place in the Church, being conducted by the

<sup>4</sup> The first eminent scholar to take up Mgr. Batiffol's criticism is Dr. Funk of Tübingen. (*Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, January, 1903.)

<sup>5</sup> St. Luke, 24, 30.

<sup>6</sup> Acts, 2-42, 46, etc.

clergy and accompanied with prayers and blessings. Further, with the abundant influx of converts after the triumph of Christianity, the Agapé saw the beginning of its doom. It was made a substitute for the gross feasting to which the *neo-conversi* Gentiles had been accustomed, and it was not long before the sacred supper which had once enjoyed the distinction of being the companion-rite of the Holy Eucharist degenerated so seriously as to become intolerable. Its end, long postponed, was imperatively demanded; its death was decreed, and though it avoided a sudden extinction by adopting a number of adroit disguises and submitting to many reformations, it gradually yielded and disappeared, leaving only a trace, here and there, of its once universal vogue.

Such has been, from the time of Muratori, the coherent if not very clear and detailed story of the Agapé. Without hesitation, Mgr. Batiffol sweeps away this whole chapter with the clean new broom of modern historical criticism.

There is no trace of the alleged Agapé, he maintains, in any New Testament writing; not a vestige of genuine testimony to it in any of the Fathers of the first three centuries; or if there be perhaps a suggestion of it in one or two of their writings, it is only by way of condemnation of an unauthorized custom. Its first undoubted historical witness is in the "Church Ordinances," and here its features are outlined clearly enough to enable us to see that the so-called Agapé was nothing more than a means of almsgiving; it had no liturgical character. The traditional view, he declares, has been not only wrong but vitiated, for there are evidences of a doctrinal intent in this long-standing collusion for the maintenance of a teaching that has no historical foundation.

So much for the outlines of the controversy. Whatever its merits, it enables us to see that any future discussion must concern itself with two plain questions: *First*, is there sufficient historical evidence that the Agapé was in a true sense a *primitive* institution of the Christian religion, and second, was it, primitive or not primitive, a *liturgical* custom?

As to the meaning of the word "primitive"; we may be

<sup>7</sup> The dissertation, of which this essay is part, considered also the later Agapé; lack of space prevents our treating of it at length here.

permitted to use it loosely as indicating apostolic and sub-apostolic times, or the first and second centuries, for the dispute lies there.

Over the word "liturgical," we need have no quarrel. Its accepted specific meaning has been given by many liturgists, and perhaps most succinctly by Dr. Kraus.<sup>8</sup> After giving the general and untechnical meanings of the word, he says: "According to the more accurate ecclesiastical usage, the 'liturgy' comprises only that group of prayers and actions in connection with which the Eucharistic sacrifice was offered." That this definition is substantially the one agreed upon by all the authorities, is evident;<sup>9</sup> that it is acceptable even to those who demand most when they apply it to the Agapé, is shown by the fact that Mgr. Batiffol himself frequently uses it or its equivalent as a touchstone for determining the character of the Love-Feast.

Our two questions then, in terms a little more precise, are these: Did the Agapé exist in the first two centuries; and had it, either at that time or later, so close a connection with the Eucharist as to form part of the ceremonies which had their climax and culmination in the consecration of the Body and Blood of Christ?<sup>10</sup>

The answer to each of these questions, until the appearance

<sup>8</sup> "Real Encyclopædie," s. v. *Liturgie*.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Probst, "Liturgie," p. 3; Suicer, "Thes. Eccl.," s. v.; Brightman, "Liturgies, Eastern and Western," I, p. 580.

<sup>10</sup> By thus narrowing the investigation, I exclude a host of questions, interesting enough, but too lengthy for discussion here. Among others I may mention that of the possible origin and symbolic signification of the Agapé, whether, *i. e.*, it was primarily a reminiscence of the Last Supper, or rather a reproduction of the ordinary Jewish ceremonial meal. The consensus of opinion—I may mention in passing—favors the former view. Muratori, Bingham, Meyer, Kraus, Corblet, Hastings, Probst and Brightman, may be named, at random, as holding to it. A notable dissenter is Mr. Keating, who is inclined to believe that the Agapé was a commemoration not so much of the Last Supper as a reminiscence of the ordinary "table-fellowship" which the apostles enjoyed with our Lord, and a symbol "of the central doctrine of Christianity, the doctrine of love, embodied in the word Agapé" (p. 40). He quotes Spitta ("Ur-Christenthum," I, p. 263) as repudiating the idea that the Agapé was a "Christian Passover," and giving two reasons for agreeing with this repudiation: first, "that no description of the Agapé shows a characteristic likeness to the Paschal Meal," and second, the frequent repetition of the act (p. 41). The Agapé, in all probability, was a daily custom, the Paschal Supper was celebrated only yearly, and "why," asks Dr. Keating, "was the Agapé celebrated so frequently if it were intimately associated with the Paschal Supper?"



of Mgr. Batiffol's two recent essays<sup>11</sup> on the subject has been given universally in the affirmative. "All the ancients," says Bingham,<sup>12</sup> "reckoned the Agapé an apostolical rite accompanying the Communion," and we may add that all the moderns have held a like view. Bingham himself agrees with "the ancients" whom he quotes. Muratori says: "The Agapæ were known and used every day by the apostles, in imitation of the Sacred Supper of Christ before His death, and were celebrated in connection with the Eucharist";<sup>13</sup> Augusti declares that "this much is certain, that the Agapæ were a *truly liturgical institution*";<sup>14</sup> Neander says, "the two together" (viz., Agapé and Eucharist), were called the Supper of the Lord (τὸ κυριακὸν δεῖπνον);<sup>15</sup> Bishop Lightfoot maintains that "in St. Paul's time, the Eucharist was plainly a part of the Agapé"<sup>16</sup> (he means of course no more than that the two were celebrated together); Dom Cabrol, summarizing the elements of the primitive Christian assembly says: "A fraternal banquet occupied the greater part of the evening or night, uniting the faithful in charity, prayers and psalms, and in conclusion came the celebration of the Eucharistic rite";<sup>17</sup> Duchesne admits that the Agapé was liturgical in the primitive Church, though he claims that it ceased to be so "one hundred years after the first preaching of the gospel";<sup>18</sup> Corblet says that the Christian Sacred Meal differed from its Jewish prototypes in this, that while the latter had "no religious liturgical character the Agapé was inspired at once by charity and by religious sentiment";<sup>19</sup> and Dr. Armitage Robinson writes in Hastings' "Dictionary of the Bible" (art. Eucharist), that "in scripture there is no trace of the Eucharist being separated from the Agapé."

The latter reason seems to be quite away from the point. Presuming that the Agapé was a reproduction of the ceremonies of the Paschal Supper, it would doubtless follow, in frequency, the celebration of the Eucharist, itself a transmutation of a yearly feast into one that was daily.

<sup>11</sup> He first discussed the Agapé in Vacant's "Dictionnaire de Théologie" (Paris, 1900), s. v. Agapes, Fascicule II., pp. 551-555.

<sup>12</sup> "The Antiquities of the Christian Church," V, p. 476.

<sup>13</sup> "Anecdota Græca, De Agapis Sublatis," p. 339.

<sup>14</sup> "Antiquities," II, p. 704, "Eine eigentliche gottesdienstliche Einrichtung."

<sup>15</sup> "History of the Church, etc.," p. 208, ff.

<sup>16</sup> "Apost. Fathers," Part II, Vol. I, Ignat. ad Smyrn., ch. 8.

<sup>17</sup> "Le Livre de la Prière Antique," Paris, 1902, p. 78.

<sup>18</sup> "Les Origines du Culte Chrétien," Paris, 1902, 3d ed., p. 49.

<sup>19</sup> "Histoire de l'Eucharistie" (Paris, 1885), vol. I, p. 584.

I need quote no more. These pronouncements are enough to indicate the unanimity of opinion.<sup>20</sup> Bingham, who had evidently read everything attainable, could find only one author who maintained that the Agapé and the Eucharist were not celebrated together, and he brands this opinion as "without any foundation and against the concurrent sense of both ancient and modern writers," and Mgr. Batiffol, the solitary exponent of the new view, admits that his conclusions on the Agapé are contradictory to those of "all the critics from Bingham to Renan."<sup>21</sup>

I. *The Agapé in the New Testament.*—To speak of "the history of the Agapé in the New Testament"<sup>22</sup> is to indulge in a euphemism. The sum-total of texts, in the canonical writings, having even the remotest bearing on the subject, does not exceed a score. Of this possible score, fully one-half show nothing more than an antecedent probability of the existence of an Agapé; of the other half-score, all but perhaps three or four must be alleged only tentatively; of texts generally admitted as indubitable there are only two or three, and of these, one depends upon a disputed reading. Evidently this is slender testimony, and the scholar who is to utilize it in favor of the Agapé must support the actual reading of the Scripture with some reflex principle—so to speak—that will give color to his conclusions.

It is only honest to say that Dr. Keating, in his chapter on the Agapé in the New Testament does employ such a principle. He claims a proving power—perhaps better, merely a persuading power—for the texts he offers, only on the condition that they be "read in the light of subsequent practice, as shown, for instance by the early Fathers,"<sup>23</sup> and also when they are interpreted in connection with the known fact of the existence of sacred meals among the contemporary pagans and Jews. To pick away these two chief props of the structure that Dr. Keating has built with the materials of Scripture is to produce,

<sup>20</sup> I may add, however, the names of other consenting authorities. Suicer (s. v.); Zahn, "Ign. v. Antioch," p. 34; Achelis, "Canones Hippolyti," p. 202; Wilpert, "Fractio Panis," p. 16, n. Weizsäcker, "Apostolic Age," vol. II, p. 285.

<sup>21</sup> Vacant, "Dict. de Théologie," Fascicule II, col. 556.

<sup>22</sup> Keating, I. c., p. 36.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., p. 36.



of course, a collapse. This is precisely what Mgr. Batiffol has done, and he has naturally made the Scripture argument seem, for the moment, ridiculous. It is scarcely necessary to insist on the injustice of such a proceeding. It will be more profitable to avoid it ourselves, and to allow, in our examination of the possible scriptural references to the Agapé, whatever additional worth they may borrow from both the prospect and the retrospect of history.

The New Testament evidences fall into three classes: First, those which merely show an antecedent likelihood of a Christian socio-religious meal; second, those which apparently bear witness to the existence of such a custom; and third, those which actually name the custom "Agapé."

The first class may be quickly disposed of. We are asked to note the significance of the fact that a great part of our Lord's parabolic teaching was illustrated by the image of a "supper," and that a symbolism based upon the customs of the table was constantly employed by Him; that He spoke of "eating and drinking at my table in my kingdom," of "eating the bread of the children of the kingdom," of supping with His followers in sign of friendship; and that not only in His verbal teachings, but in His example he made His people understand that there is a sacredness in the act of eating and drinking together, a symbolism which He would be glad to have them remember and observe when He was gone. He "broke bread" with His disciples, He multiplied loaves for the people in the desert, and, in short, He so often sat at table with those who were dear to Him, that the writer who particularly draws our attention to all these facts, feels justified in declaring that "our Lord's fellowship with His disciples was, to a large extent, a table-fellowship."<sup>24</sup>

The significance of these allusions is obvious: it would be quite natural that the followers of Jesus, when once He was gone from among them, would be anxious to recall His presence, by an imitation of His habits, and principally by a continuation of the especially significant custom of eating together in token of fraternal affection. Add to this, that the most sacred of all the acts of our Saviour, the institution of the

<sup>24</sup> Keating, l. c., p. 37.

Blessed Eucharist, had been in connection with a symbolic meal, the Paschal Supper, and we may well think it inevitable that the apostles, when repeating the same awful act, would enshrine it in a ceremonial, imitative, as far as might be, of the Lord's own Last Supper.<sup>25</sup> Is the likelihood realized in the event?

The second group of Scripture texts seems to answer affirmatively, by making mention of an actually existing religious meal. The discussion centers about the phrase "the breaking of bread" (*ἡ κλάσις τοῦ ἄρτου*).<sup>26</sup> It is beyond dispute, however, that this formula is used throughout the writings of St. Luke—in his gospel and in the Acts—to designate primarily the Eucharist. It was in fact, from the beginning, and for the first two hundred years of the Christian Church, if not the only name, at least the usual name of the Blessed Sacrament.<sup>27</sup> Yet the defenders of the Agapé cite the passages in which the words occur as proofs undeniable of a "breaking of bread" other than the Eucharist, their contention being that the one formula includes both the sacramental and the non-sacramental rite. Mgr. Batiffol professes to find no reason for such an interpretation and though it is well-nigh the universal one, he rejects it as "arbitrary and subjective." Here, he would say, is the very fountain-head of the delusive tradition concerning the primitive Agapé, and he rejects at once all the alleged evidences of its existence.

The case may not be so summarily dismissed. The same scholars who demonstrate that the phrase in question designates the Eucharist, are quick to add that in all probability, it cannot be restricted to the Eucharist alone. They feel that the formula requires explanation, and they explain it on the hypothesis that the Eucharist was accompanied by a non-sacred "breaking of bread" which came in time to give its

<sup>25</sup> Mr. Keating, it will be remembered, thinks the Agapé was not a direct imitation of the Paschal Supper.

<sup>26</sup> Sec. Probst, "Liturgie," p. 26; Wilpert, "Fractio Panis," p. 16; Kraus, "Real Encyclopædie," s. v. "Eucharistie"; Suicer, "Thes. Theol.," s. v. *κλάσις τοῦ ἄρτου*, after giving his opinion that the "breaking of bread," is the original and peculiar designation of the Eucharist, cites for his support the Syriac version which, he says, translates "fractio panis," in Acts, 2, 42, by "fractio Eucharistiæ"; Blass, Comment. in loc. Acts, 2, 46, 20, 7-11; 27, 35, says "in omnibus his locis est sollemnis designatio cœnæ Dominicæ."

<sup>27</sup> Acts, 2, 42; 2, 46; 20, 11; 27, 35.

name to the whole service. The ground for the hypothesis itself is the context in which the debated words are often found. In Acts 2, 46, for example, "breaking bread from house to house, they took their meat in gladness and simplicity of heart," the liturgical formula "breaking bread" is apparently in apposition with the ordinary terms, "taking meat," a merely physical meal. Led by the face meaning of the words, some of the commentators (even Catholics who are naturally anxious to find references to the Eucharist)<sup>28</sup> have concluded that in this place at least there is no mention of the Eucharist; that the "breaking of bread" here is used of the Agapé alone. But this interpretation is unusual and unnecessary. A more favorite explanation of the passage is that it shows only a close connection, not an identity, between the customs of "breaking bread" and "taking meat."<sup>29</sup>

A somewhat clearer case is that of Acts 27, 35, the passage in which St. Paul is represented as encouraging his companions in shipwreck to break their long fast, "to take some food for their health's sake," after which exhortation he "takes bread," "gives thanks," "breaks it" and "eats," whereupon, "they also took some meat." All the circumstances of this action would point to a mere satisfying of hunger, yet the consecrated formula "he broke bread" is introduced into the passage, and the liturgical significance of the grouping of the phrases, "taking bread," "giving thanks," "breaking," and "eating," somewhat weakens the supposition that St. Paul's action was a non-religious one. Yet if we may doubt that, in this passage, there is an indication of a liturgical action, it is evidently beyond question that if there was such an action, it is in immediate connection with the taking of an ordinary meal; another possible evidence of the supposed Christian custom of combining the sacred and the non-sacred "breaking of bread."

The reading of the third verse in question, Acts, 2, 42 is a matter of dispute, and the argument for or against the Agapé

<sup>28</sup> e. g. McEvilly, in loc.

<sup>29</sup> The words "from house to house," are no argument against the Eucharist, because, as is well known, the exclusively Christian service, which took place before the Christians repaired in common with the Jews to the Temple, was held in their homes.

varies slightly with the reading. The Vulgate reads "in communicatione fractionis panis," which the Rheims translation renders literally "in the communication of the breaking of bread." The original Greek, however, inserts the conjunctive particle *καί* between *κοινωνία* the "communication," and *κλάσει τοῦ ἄρτου*, the "breaking of bread," thus differentiating the "communication" or the general "fellowship," which includes the common meal, the Agapé, from the actual "breaking of bread," the Eucharist.

Upon this latter reading Meyer constructs an ingenious analysis of the text in question. We may quote it and apply it, for determining, if possible, the character of the connection between the common meal and the Eucharist.

He says:<sup>30</sup> "Unless I mistake, St. Luke distinctly enumerates all the parts of the divine worship:

1. τῇ διδασκῇ τῶν ἀποστόλων,
2. καὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ
3. καὶ τῇ κλάσει τοῦ ἄρτου,
4. καὶ ταῖς προσευχαῖς.

Such an analysis is natural and legitimate enough. It consists merely in grouping graphically parts which in the text are given continuously. But see the consequence. In virtue of this coördination of the elements of the Christian service, ἡ κοινωνία stands in the same class with ἡ διδασκῇ and with αἱ προσευχαί and these three together, grouped around the κλάσει τοῦ ἄρτου, the Eucharist, form the primitive liturgy of its celebration.

One of two alternative facts, then, is sufficiently manifest from an examination of these texts of the Acts. Either the formula "fractio panis" includes both a sacramental and a social breaking of bread, or, if it more correctly expresses only the sacramental action, it is yet placed in such close connection with other non-liturgical formulæ as to suggest a companionship of two customs, one a sacrament, the other a common or semi-religious meal. The fact is significant: the almost inevitable conclusion is that in the first Christian Church at Jerusalem there was an expressly intended union between the Holy Eucharist and the common meal which tradition has

<sup>30</sup> Comment. in Acts 2, 42.

called the Agapé. This much established, it is no far cry to the supposition that the infant Church continued the practice, which our Lord had established, of consecrating the sacred species at the close of the fraternal meal, making the meal serve as the preparatory ritual of the sacrament. And what is this but to say that, in the Acts of the Apostles, the Agapé is indeed a liturgical action?

Mgr. Batiffol's opinion, therefore, that in all the passages thus far brought forward, "the breaking of bread" means the Eucharist, and the Eucharist alone, though tenable by one who insists on the actual meaning of an isolated phrase of Scripture, is impossible to one who takes account of the context. The weakness of his view is indicated by the fact that he ignores entirely the significance of the constant juxtaposition of the two actions of eating an ordinary meal and of celebrating the Holy Sacrifice. The phenomenon is certainly worthy of note, yet Mgr. Batiffol quite disregards it.

A further weakness of his view is in its utter lack of the support of tradition or of authority. He seems to be in the distinguished but unenviable position of agreeing with nobody but himself.<sup>31</sup>

The center of the discussion over possible references to the Agapé in the New Testament is the eleventh chapter of St.

<sup>31</sup> It ought to be noted here, not by way of controversy, but as a means of throwing light upon the general discussion, that within the space of a few sentences Mgr. Batiffol has made two important mistakes. He exaggerates the conclusions which Dr. Keating draws from the texts thus far quoted, and he misses a prominent point in his adversary's position concerning the relation of the Eucharist with the Agapé. After admitting that our Saviour's custom of "breaking bread" with His disciples would probably give rise to the practice of a common meal among the brethren, he asks: "But how can you conclude from this that the Eucharist and the Agapé are both included in the term *κλῆσις τοῦ ἁγίου*, and that the Agapé has its justification, basis and object in its intimate connection with the Lord's Supper. Yet Th. Harnack and Lightfoot do so reason . . . and Dr. Keating so reasons, after bringing together the texts wherein the *κλῆσις τοῦ ἁγίου* is mentioned . . . concluding that it is impossible to see in these texts only the Eucharist and not to include what was later known as the Agapé?" (p. 280). Now, the truth is, Dr. Keating does not say "it is impossible not to include the Agapé." He says rather, that, "taking all the passages where the expression (*κλῆσις τοῦ ἁγίου*) occurs in the New Testament, while it would be impossible to restrict it *with certainty* to the Eucharist proper, it seems in this passage (i. e., in Acts, 2, 42) to include both" (l. c., p. 44).

Again, Mgr. Batiffol mistakes in saying that Dr. Keating agrees with Th. Harnack that the Agapé "has its justification, basis and object" in the Lord's Supper. Dr. Keating expresses his disagreement with that view (p. 39), and actually confronts it with two objections (p. 41).

Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians. It will be best to quote the passage entire, since almost no word of it is insignificant.

"When you come together it is not now to eat the Lord's supper, for everyone taketh before his own supper to eat. And one, indeed, is hungry, and another is drunk. What! have you not houses to eat and drink in? Or despise ye the Church of God and put to shame them that have not? What shall I say to you? Do I praise you? In this I praise you not. For I have received of the Lord," etc. (here follows the classic account of the revelation vouchsafed him concerning the institution of the Blessed Eucharist). "Wherefore, brethren, when you come together to eat, wait for one another. If any man be hungry, let him eat at home that you come not together unto judgment. And the rest I will set in order when I come."

Here is a large bone of contention to throw between the protagonists and the antagonists of the Agapé. But we must be brief with it, for the bulk of our discussion is from extra-scriptural sources and we may not give this part more than its proper relative importance.

The questions are: Does St. Paul refer to an Agapé; and if so, was it held in connection with the Holy Eucharist; and does he condemn the practice or only legislate for its decorous observance?

Both opinions are maintained. The practice of assembling for a common meal is beyond doubt, after a reading of this passage, say those who favor the existence of the Agapé, but it gave rise to an abuse. There was selfishness and haste among those who could bring their own supper, and those who could not bring their own went hungry. Hence, a true Lord's supper became impossible, and St. Paul complains of the irregularity and disorder. As for the text, "have you not houses to eat and drink in? If any man is hungry let him eat at home," this may be read, and considering the context, *must* be read to mean simply that the Agapé was not to be a full meal, but a slight repast, not sufficient to satisfy hunger, but only enough to serve a symbolic purpose.

The opposite interpretation—that of opponents of the existence of the Agapé—declares that St. Paul, in the passage quoted, forbids any eating or drinking whatsoever, in the

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Church; that he pleads not for decorum but for an actual abolition of the habit of taking food in connection with the Holy Sacrifice. "It would be impossible," urges Mgr. Batiffol, "to find a more decided condemnation of a religious repast."

To give our own summary: We may perhaps safely say that the passage seems at first to condemn anything like an Agapé. But there is a difficulty in the way of thus understanding St. Paul's words, for he seems to contradict himself; in one breath, apparently condemning the custom ("have you not houses to eat and drink in"), but in the next breath apparently tolerating it ("when you come together, wait for one another").

But condemnation or toleration aside, the fact remains that the Corinthians were in the habit of eating and drinking in the Church, and at the very meeting in which the Holy Eucharist was celebrated. The custom must have had an origin somewhere. What more natural than to see its origin in the common gatherings for the "breaking of bread," spoken of in the Acts of the Apostles? And if such had been its origin we may well believe that it was an authorized, apostolic, and therefore a quasi-sacred custom which St. Paul would have been slow to condemn.

And this, our expectation, seems to be realized. For St. Paul seems not to condemn it. If it was, in his judgment, worthy of rejection, his language of condemnation ought to be unequivocal. We have seen that it is not unequivocal. Hence the natural conclusion is that he tolerated the practice.

Again, on the supposition that the Apostle intended to abolish the custom, why should he, in this very context, remind his people of the manner of the institution of the Eucharist, recalling to their minds that our Lord consecrated bread and wine at the close of an actual supper? Would not this relation suggest to the minds of the Corinthians an argument in favor of retaining the supper in connection with the Eucharist, and does it not suggest to our minds that St. Paul uses the narration as a means of enforcing what he wished to say, namely that the meal in connection with the Consecration ought to be as decorous as was Christ's meal with His Apostles before

the first Consecration? This much seems certain, then, that St. Paul made an attempt not to abolish the custom but to regulate it.

May we now go further and say that the Agapé as it existed among the Corinthians, was in the true sense a liturgical practice? The question cannot be answered by an appeal to the text itself. Accordingly, the defenders of the Agapé have summoned for the support of their view, St. John Chrysostom's commentary on the passage. The appeal is unwise, for although one may, with some show of reason, extract from the original words of St. Paul an evidence of the connection between the Eucharist and the Agapé, the interpretation of St. Chrysostom tells positively against the connection of the two. It is strange that this fact should have been denied or overlooked, for the commentary is in no degree ambiguous:

"As in the case of the three thousand who believed in the beginning, all had eaten their meals in common, such also was the practice when the Apostles wrote—not exactly the same indeed—but to a certain extent the communion abiding among the first Christians descended also to those that came later. Since some remained rich while others were poor, they could not have placed all their good in common, but they prepared a common table on stated days, as was natural, and, *when the meeting was over, after communicating in the mysteries*, they all came together, for a common feast. But afterwards this custom fell into disuse."<sup>32</sup>

Elsewhere St. John Chrysostom uses practically the same words:

"*After the communion of the mysteries*, they did not immediately return home . . . but the rich brought meat from their own houses, and called the poor, and made common banquets in the Church itself."<sup>33</sup>

This description, as is plain, gives us absolutely no reason for supposing that the common meal had any liturgical significance. On the contrary, if we may trust Chrysostom as an interpreter of the apostolic custom, the table set for the poor

<sup>32</sup> Chrysostom, Hom. 27, in I. Cor.

<sup>33</sup> Hom. 22.

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by the rich was nothing more than a banquet of fraternal charity—not indeed a mere alms, since all, rich and poor, sat down together—but yet only a social meal taken after the service, before the people returned to their homes. It was, perhaps, a “love-feast,” a manifestation of Christian affection and of spiritual equality, but by no means one of the rites surrounding the Holy Eucharist.<sup>34</sup>

Such is the natural deduction from the words of St. Chrysostom. It does not follow, however, that such was the historical truth. The great archbishop of Constantinople, in spite of all his skill in exegesis and all his familiarity with St. Paul, may yet be mistaken in a point of fact. His opinion, that in St. Paul’s time the Agapé was an accidental appendage, not an organic part of the Eucharistic service, is rejected by almost all the modern commentators.

Bishop Lightfoot, for instance takes 1 Cor. as an absolutely certain witness of the union of the Lord’s Supper and the Love-Feast. “In St. Paul’s time,” he says, “the Euchar-

<sup>34</sup>Dr. Keating assumes from these two descriptions that Chrysostom is “giving us a perhaps somewhat idealized picture of the Agapé of his own time,” and that he “makes it clear that in his day, and for some time previously, the Agapé had been held in the Church. Such a deduction is scarcely warranted. Chrysostom is speaking in the way of narrative, describing a custom of which his hearers apparently knew nothing, what was to them already an antiquity, a thing obsolete. This is manifest from the whole sense of the passages. What wonder then that Dr. Keating, in this matter, lays himself open to the cavil of his keen-eyed critic, Mgr. Batiffol.

But the critic himself, in turn is open to criticism. Answering Dr. Keating, he says that Chrysostom is speaking of a custom of apostolic days, not of his own times. Why, then, does not Mgr. Batiffol acknowledge this fact when he is himself treating of what he calls the “alleged” Agapé of the early Church? Why not do something towards explaining how Chrysostom could be wrong in understanding St. Paul? Mgr. Batiffol is willing enough to use the testimony of the great student of the apostle when it will refute an adversary, but he neglects it entirely when it places a difficulty in his own way. This is surely a defect in Mgr. Batiffol’s method. He sets himself in direct opposition to all the recognized interpreters of the Holy Scriptures, yet never deigns to explain how they could, one and all, have gone so far astray as to start the tradition concerning an Agapé.

But—to drop the discussion—if we care for a true description of the Agapé of St. John Chrysostom’s own time, we may consult his forty-seventh homily on Justin the Martyr. He says to his people:

“Wouldst thou participate in a bodily table (as well as a spiritual one)? Then it is lawful, after the breaking up of the assembly to take one’s ease under a vine or fig-tree near the monument of the martyr, and to allow the body relaxation.” This passage is quoted by Dr. Keating himself (pp. 148-149), yet he seems not to be conscious that it contradicts both his statements: “Chrysostom” (in the other essentially different description) “is giving us a somewhat idealized picture of the Agapé of his own time, and in his day the Agapé was held in the Church” (p. 145).

ist was plainly part of the Agapé (1 Cor. 11). The Christian festival both in the hour of the day and in the arrangement of the meal was substantially a representation of Christ's meal with His Apostles. Hence it was called the Lord's Supper, the name originally applied to the combination of the Eucharist and the Agapé."<sup>35</sup>

Now, it is just such confident and sweeping assertion as this which kindles the indignation of critics like Mgr. Batiffol, who demand that the statements be either ruled out or substantiated by an appeal to the letter of the text. As a matter of fact, it requires more than the letter of the text to justify a deduction such as that of Bishop Lightfoot. He comes to his conclusion, not merely by a reference to the actual verbal construction of the passage, but by bringing to the reading a sense of the value of suggestions, moral proofs, *a priori* judgments, elements of exegesis, legitimate enough, in spite of the fact that they irritate those who find it to their advantage, in any particular instance, to clamor for a literal rendition of the words of a text.

The traditional interpretation, then arrives at its conclusions by some such method as this: starting with the fact that St. Paul tolerated a common meal in the assembly ("when you come together to eat, wait for one another"), and proceeding on the assurance that this meal was to serve rather a symbolic than a practical purpose ("If any man be hungry, let him eat at home"), we may see that the apostle is reproving his people chiefly because by too much eating and drinking, they profane the Body and Blood of Christ, making themselves unfit to receive it in Holy Communion. There must, then, have been a close connection between the two features of the service, the Eucharist and the Agapé.

Furthermore, in this relation of the two, the Agapé must have come first, else how could the excesses attached to it directly unfit one for the Holy Communion? Again, to repeat what has already been hinted at, St. Paul's concern is to teach the Corinthians how they may worthily celebrate the Sacred Mystery, and he proposes to teach them by reminding them of the institution of the Blessed Sacrament. He therefore

<sup>35</sup> "Apostolic Fathers," part II, Vol. I, p. 400.

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recites to them the story of what took place "in the same night in which our Lord was betrayed." On that hallowed occasion, be it noted—the supper came first; afterwards "*postquam cœnavit*," came the Consecration. This is the model St. Paul proposes to the Corinthians, and he gives us no reason for denying that he intended they should follow it in detail.

And, finally, what reason could the Agapé have for being in such close proximity with the Eucharist, unless it was part of the ritual? It could not have been a merely social meal, else it would not have been held at the same time and in the same connection with the Eucharist; it could not have been an ordinary meal for it was not intended to be sufficient to satisfy hunger. What, then, remains but that it was a liturgical meal, a part of the preparation for the Sacrifice of the Body and Blood of the Lord?

Hence, the conclusion: the Agapé probably held the same position relative to the Eucharist, in the Church of Corinth, which it had in the cenacle and in the "Hauskirchen" at Jerusalem. This is all that the traditional exegesis of I Cor. wishes to maintain, but this means that the Agapé was a liturgical rite.

There remain for consideration the two texts of the New Testament, which are generally considered as expressly naming the Agapé: Jude 12, and 2 Peter, 2, 13. In effect the two passages are only one; for either Jude copies from 2 Peter, or 2 Peter copies from Jude.<sup>36</sup>

The texts read: Jude 12, "There are spots in their banquets (*ἀγάπαις*) feasting together without fear," and 2 Peter, 2, 13, ". . . stains and spots, sporting themselves, rioting in their feasts" (*ἀγάπαις*), or "in their deceivings" (*ἀπαρτεῖ*). The fruitlessness of contending over these passages is shown from a comparison of the contrary conclusions reached by our two contending exegetes. It matters not, says Mgr. Batiffol,

<sup>36</sup> There has been no end of discussion concerning the dates of these epistles and their relative age. Bacon ("Introd. to the N. T.") gives for Jude A. D. 85-90, 2 Peter A. D. 100-150, and says (p. 170) there can be no doubt that this is the right order, notwithstanding the genius of Spitta who thought otherwise." But, on the other hand, Dr. Bigg in the volume "St. Peter and St. Jude," in the "International Critical Commentary" gives many reasons for reversing the order, aiming to show that Jude copied from 2 Peter. Among the more conservative, though not less able critics, Belser ("Einleitung") gives the dates, Jude A. D. 66, 2 Peter A. D. 67.

whether you admit ἀγάπαις instead of ἀπάρταις,<sup>37</sup> in either of these texts or in both, for the difficulty remains that the word ἀγάπαις does not necessarily mean "feasts," on the contrary it must mean merely love, "dilectio," "caritas," as elsewhere in St. Jude.

And, it matters not, says Dr. Keating in turn, whether the reading be ἀγάπαις or ἀπάρταις, "in any case, the allusion to the love-feasts is undoubted!"

This rather amusing contradiction gives us the key to the situation; neither here nor in any other passage adducible from the Sacred Scriptures is there sufficient information to enable the scholar to conclude with strict certainty on the existence or the character of the Agapé. Whether one sees in the text thus far considered a proof or a denial of the Agapé depends, in large measure, upon one's previous attitude of mind, and one's previous attitude must be produced by something more convincing than the evidences in the New Testament writings.

II. *The Agapé in the Second Century.*—The crucial texts on the Agapé are those taken from second-century documents. They are not many: altogether, strong, doubtful and weak, they may be easily enumerated: "The Didaché," ch. 10; "St. Clement to the Corinthians," ch. 44; "St. Ignatius to the Smyrnæans," ch. 8; "Pliny's Letter to Trajan" X., 97; "The Epistle to Diognetus," ch. 5; "The Octavius of Minucius Felix," ch. 31; several passages in "Tertullian: The Acts of Paul and Thecla," ch. 25; the "Passion of St. Perpetua," ch. 17; and "Lucian, de Morte Peregrini," ch. 12.

This is the sum of all the texts of sub-apostolic writings which can have any claim to contain an allusion to the Agapé. And yet of this number more than half are useless as controversial weapons. Any scholar consciously urging a defense of the Agapé would do well to throw out of this list of second-century testimonies all but those of Ignatius, Pliny, and Tertullian, for the rest are only so much *impedimenta* in the battle against hostile criticism.

<sup>37</sup> This is the disputed reading. The Codex Alexandrinus and the Codex Ephraemi give the reading ἀπάρταις in 2 Pet. 2, 13, which, however, is probably as Bishop Lightfoot maintains, "an obvious error" ("Apostolic Fathers," Ignatius, II, 312).

Evidently, this fact—that out of a period well stocked with Christian evidences, only three texts for the Love-Feast can be found fit to stand a rigid examination—speaks eloquently for the opponents of the Agapé. And this is not their only advantage; they must be given the credit of another significant fact, the silence of two of the most important Christian writers of the century under consideration, Justin Martyr, and Irenæus. It is not the purpose of this essay to disregard or to obscure any such notable indications as these: Let it be plainly stated, then, that the critics who oppose the theory of the early existence of the Agapé may accredit their cause with these two points: the paucity of second century documents, and the silence of the two writers who ought, perhaps, to have especially mentioned it—the apologist Justin, and the controversialist Irenæus. The *argumentum e silentio* is especially strong in the case of St. Justin, because although he gives *ex professo* a full and distinct description of the main features of Christian liturgical practice, apparently concealing nothing, hampered by no *disciplina arcani* (for his first Apology, and especially that chapter of it which describes the Eucharist, is one of the main proofs that the “Discipline of the Secret” was not yet in force in his time, or that it did not affect the frankness of an Apology addressed to the Imperial Court) and having therefore an adequate, indeed an imperative, reason for naming and explaining the Agapé, yet gives not so much as a hint of its existence.

Such, unless I mistake, is a fair statement of the case *against* the Agapé in the second century. I shall not attempt directly to weaken any part of the argument it suggests, except by mentioning, in the proper place, a possible explanation of the silence of Justin.

The immediate discussion centers on the few texts I have named as defensible evidences of the Agapé.

The first is “Ignatius to the Smyrnæans,” ch. 8, a short chapter, but one that for general doctrinal purposes has been called the most important in all the seven Ignatian Epistles. The argument demands that we have it, in its entirety, before our eyes:

"Avoid divisions as the beginning of evil. Follow, all of you, the bishop, as Jesus Christ followed the Father, and follow the presbytery as the apostles. Moreover, reverence the deacons as the Commandment of God. Let no man do aught pertaining to the Church, apart from the bishop. Let that Eucharist be considered valid, which is made under the bishop, or him to whom he commits it. Wheresoever the bishop is, there let the people appear, even as wheresoever Christ Jesus is, there is the Catholic Church. *It is not lawful apart from the bishop, either to baptize or to hold a Love-Feast.* But whatsoever he approves, that also is well-pleasing to God, that everything you may do may be secure and valid."<sup>28</sup>

The usual comment on this passage is that the word *ἀγάπη* here translated "Love-Feast" includes both the Eucharist and the Agapé proper, and this very text is used as a proof that the two parts of the service were so intimately associated in the time of Ignatius (c. A. D. 112) as to permit of their being named in one and the same word. But the reasons given for this opinion are rather unsatisfactory; the truth being that the commentators find some perplexity in the grouping of the phrases of the text.

Lightfoot, for instance, simply says that, "In such a connexion the omission of the Eucharist is *inconceivable*. The Eucharist *must* be contained implicitly in the Agapé," and Mr. Srawley, an editor of Ignatius, who generally follows Lightfoot, continues the thought: "Otherwise it would be difficult to see the importance of the mention of the Agapé here or to explain the omission of the Eucharist, if it is not included in the phrase."<sup>29</sup>

The perplexity of the commentators is the opportunity of their critics. Mgr. Batiffol asks not, "why must we include the Eucharist," but "why attempt to include the Agapé?" It is not necessary to do so, he maintains; in fact, it is not possible to do so, except by reading into this second-century text a meaning of the word *ἀγάπη* which it did not have until the fourth century. The plain solution, he continues, is that the Eucharist and the Eucharist alone is mentioned here,

<sup>28</sup> I give the version of Rev. J. H. Srawley ("Early Church Classics," Ignatius), who follows, except in some details, Bishop Lightfoot's text and interpretation.

<sup>29</sup> L. c., II, p. 43.



the whole context giving us to understand that ἀγάπη is used as a synonym, in the abstract sense "love," for the Eucharist.<sup>40</sup>

I can see reason neither for Bishop Lightfoot's perplexity nor for Mgr. Batiffol's solution of it. An analysis of the passage is the shortest way out of the difficulty, if there be a difficulty.

St. Ignatius is expressly inculcating not the discipline of the Eucharistic service or of any other practice exclusively, but a general obedience to the bishop in "all things pertaining to the Church." "Let no man," he says, "do aught apart from the bishop"; without him there must be *first*, no Eucharist, *second*, no assembly, *third*, no baptism, *fourth*, no love-feast, etc. The Eucharist, then, though it is not mentioned in the very sentence with the Agapé, is *not* omitted from the passage. It is mentioned in its place, *i. e.*, *first*, among the rites which require the presence of the bishop. How can Bishop Lightfoot maintain *a priori*, that it *must* be mentioned again in the word ἀγάπη, or that its omission in that precise word is "inconceivable"? He cannot without entering a vicious circle, argue that in Ignatius the Agapé and the Eucharist are inseparable, for the chief proof of that possible fact is the passage in question. He can only insist that to place the Agapé, if it be a separate institution, in such close juxtaposition to the Eucharist and to Baptism, is to concede too much importance to it. But supposing for the moment that the Agapé, without being strictly a Eucharistic rite, had the quasi-sacred character which attached to it later, say in the Canons of Hippolytus; in such a case it would have been of sufficient importance to demand—as it did in the latter text—the presence of the bishop, and consequently would have been not unworthy to be named side by side with other features which require the episcopal supervision.

This supposition, even though it may not be the true solution, is at least possible, and so sufficient to break the theory of the necessity of the inclusion of the Eucharist in the word ἀγάπη.

But on the other hand, though we need not agree with Bishop Lightfoot that the "Agapé *must* include the Euchar-

<sup>40</sup> L. c., p. 287.

ist," neither need we agree with Mgr. Batiffol that the Agapé as such is not mentioned at all. The context leads us to conclude differently. The mention of the Eucharist, in the first place, by its own name *εὐχαριστία* would naturally suggest that *ἀγάπη*, a line or two later, must be something different. What necessity is there for a repetition of the prescription concerning the Eucharist? St. Ignatius has already said, "Let there be no *Eucharist* apart from the bishop," why go on to say, "Let there be no *Agapé* apart from the bishop," if *Eucharist* in the one sentence and *Agapé*, in the other, are identically the same? The plain conclusion, then, from a straightforward reading of the text, is that both the Eucharist and the Agapé are mentioned separately in the text. If the Agapé includes the Eucharist, the fact must be proved otherwise than by the wording of this passage.

But Mgr. Batiffol insists upon the fact that the word *ἀγάπη* is to be found twenty-eight times in the Epistles of St. Ignatius, in its abstract sense of "love" a synonym for "caritas," "dilectio," etc., and hence, he would have us believe, that in this passage it "designates nothing particular in the concrete," such as an Agapé, but is used by a sort of metonymy for the Eucharist. It is hard to see the significance of such an argument as this. If Mgr. Batiffol could bring forward a passage or two in which Ignatius undoubtedly uses *ἀγάπη* for the Eucharist, and declare that it must be so used here, we could understand the argument. But as far as we know *ἀγάπη* is never once used interchangeably for the Eucharist. And why, then, call attention to the fact that Ignatius uses the word when he means "love"? What other word could he use? Granted that the word is ordinarily an abstract noun, it is evidently used here in a concrete sense, else the phrase *ἀγάπην ποιεῖν* is unintelligible.<sup>41</sup> The only question is whether the concrete thing it expresses shall be Agapé or Eucharist, and this question leaves us at the same point from which we started.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>41</sup> *ἀγάπην ποιεῖν* the reading of the Short Recension: *δοχὴν ἐπιτελεῖν* of the Long Recension.

<sup>42</sup> The word *ἀγάπη* is the ordinary term for "love" in the New Testament and the Fathers. Suicer ("Thesaurus," s. v.) quotes abundantly from the Fathers to show that the word was used to denote "love," human and divine, i. e., love of God

Agapé then, it may be concluded, is, in this passage of Ignatius, a thing in itself, distinct from the Holy Eucharist. But our usual second question suggests itself. Is there any evidence that the Agapé was liturgical in the Church of Smyrna? The answer to the question may be sought in a further examination into the reasons which have induced such good authorities as Lightfoot, already quoted, and with him Funk and Probst, to maintain that the phrase ἀγάπην ποιεῖν must include the celebration of the Eucharist.

Lightfoot and Funk simply state their opinion, resting it on *a priori* reasons, but Dr. Probst endeavors to prove it by the use of an accumulative argument of no little force. He notices, first, that the word ἀγάπῃν has been used a few lines before, in its ordinary sense, indeed, of "to love" but in the midst of an exhortation to use the Holy Eucharist; hence a subtle hint that there was a connection between the word and the Sacrament. Second, he points out, that ἀγάπην ποιεῖν is used in the same construction with the sacramental action βαπτίζειν; hence a possibility that ἀγάπην ποιεῖν is itself sacramental. Third, he calls attention to the fact that the word ποιεῖν is, in Justin Martyr and elsewhere a sacrificial word occurring in the phrase εὐχαριστίαν ποιεῖν; hence a probability of its being here an indication of the sacrificial act. Fourth, Ignatius prescribes that no one shall perform this action "apart from the bishop"; hence, a presumption that it was a sacred function.<sup>43</sup>

Now, it is just possible that this reasoning oversteps the mark—proves too much. We can imagine Mgr. Batiffol thanking Dr. Probst for the exposition and affixing to it his

towards man, and love of man for God; likewise for "charity" in the broader sense of "kindness," "good-will," "favor," etc. In short, wherever we use the word "charity" or "love," the first word at the tip of the pen or the tongue of a New Testament or patristic writer was ἀγάπη. The immortal praise of "charity," in I. Cor. 13, is praise of ἀγάπη.

The word, of course, is not classic in the noun form, but the verbs, both ἀγαπᾶω and ἀγαπάω and the adjective ἀγαπητός, etc., are found frequently in the classics. ἀγάπη, the noun, occurs first in the Septuagint (cf. Liddell and Scott), and from that time, as long as Greek was used in the West, it was the ordinary and standard word for "love."

All the Greek lexicographers, notably Suicer, who discusses the word at great length, agree that the plural form ἀγάπαι, designates primarily, and perhaps exclusively, the Christian love-feasts. In the face of such facts it seems folly to attempt to prove that ἀγάπη in the text of Ignatius means "Eucharist."

<sup>43</sup> Probst, "Liturgie," p. 64.

own conclusion: "Therefore ἀγάπην ποιεῖν means to celebrate the Holy Eucharist." This is more than Dr. Probst will allow, but, to be honest, anyone might naturally draw the same conclusion from his argument.

To avoid this conclusion which seems otherwise unwarranted, we may, perhaps, best maintain the position we have already chosen, as most defensible, viz., that while there is not sufficient reason for asserting that the Eucharist is actually contained in the precise word ἀγάπη, there is, nevertheless, here in Ignatius, as in the Acts and in St. Paul, a significant collocation of the actions of celebrating the Eucharist and of holding the Agapé, an indication of a close union between them. If we may carry forward the conclusion arrived at from our examination of the New Testament writings, we may, with sufficient security, declare that in all probability in the year 112, the date of the Epistle to the Smyrnæans, the Love-Feast still remained what it had been in the year 54, a liturgical part of the Divine Service. Giving full allowance for the importance which Ignatius attaches to the Agapé, placing it side by side with the Eucharist and with Baptism, we must think it a sacred action, and if it were so, we can scarcely conceive that it was made sacred in any other way save by its organic unity with the Blessed Sacrament.

The second important testimony concerning the Agapé in sub-apostolic times is the famous letter of Pliny to Trajan.<sup>44</sup> This classic source of a thousand controversies contains a text that is of vital importance for or against the Agapé. According to the statement of the Christians apprehended by Pliny and obliged to confess their customs, there were two Christian meetings, one in the morning (*stato die ante lucem*), the other later in the day, undoubtedly in the evening. At the morning meeting, according to Pliny's understanding of the information given to him, a hymn was sung to Christ, and an oath was taken by the members of the community to abstain from all manner of evil deeds; at the second meeting the Christians assembled to partake of a common meal (*cibum promiscuum et innoxium*). Was this the Agapé? All the commentators and historians have thought so, but as usual Mgr.

<sup>44</sup> Ad. Traj., n. 97.

Batiffol rejects the traditional explanation. Why? Because, he says, unless this *cibum innoxium*, taken at the evening meal, means the Eucharist, Pliny's informers make no mention of the Eucharist whatsoever. But being apostates, they had no reason for concealing anything; they must mention the Eucharist. Furthermore—*odisse quem læseris*—the natural the Eucharist, not the Agapé.

We cannot accept this reasoning. For if the informers were, as Mgr. Batiffol says, in will and in intention apostates, then not only had they no reason for concealing the doctrine of the Blessed Eucharist but they had every reason for making it known in plain words. Apostates like to justify their defection before their own consciences and before the world, and what better justification could there have been in this case, than a blunt statement of a doctrine which would immediately appeal to their Roman judge as absurd and impossible, the doctrine of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Holy Eucharist. Furthermore—*odisse quem læseris*—the natural antipathy of apostates for their former brethren would lead them to divulge what they knew to be the dearest secret of those whose company they had deserted. Why, then, should these informers, if genuine apostates, carefully veil the most striking doctrine of the Church, its most intimate and best beloved secret, as well as its most apparently impossible mystery, the abiding presence of the very Jesus Christ who had been slain by the Roman power which was now working itself out in the hands of Pliny and Trajan? Instead of following the natural course and exposing Christianity, these apostates, Mgr. Batiffol would have us believe, skilfully shield the faith they have abandoned, by the use of an equivocal description of the Holy Eucharist, *cibum promiscuum et innoxium*. The hypothesis of apostasy and the hypothesis of a delicate concern for the sacredness of the Christian mystery, do not fit well together.

The more probable theory is that these informers were not intentional apostates, but only weak-kneed brethren—*lapsi* or *sacrificati*, as they would have been called in after days—who had sacrificed under fear of torture, but had still some sense of Christian fidelity to conscience. Under this supposition

their conduct is perfectly intelligible. Just as in the later persecution of Diocletian, when the demand was made upon the Christians to surrender their "magical" books, they gave over, instead of the Scriptures, writings of minor importance, keeping what was really sacred, so now these informers, still Christian at heart, tell the governor about the less essential of their religious practices, the prayers, the hymns, the "oath,"<sup>45</sup> the common meal, *cibum promiscuum et innoxium*, but they conceal under silence the awful and unmentionable truth of the Holy Eucharist.

A confirmation of the likelihood of this latter interpretation is to be found in a close scrutiny of the text itself, "The Christians," says Pliny, "declared that they had desisted from this custom after the publication of my edict by which, according to your commands, I forbade the meeting of any assemblies." What is the "custom" of which the governor speaks? Judging from the construction of the Latin sentence, he means the custom last mentioned, namely, that of "eating a harmless meal in common." The text runs, "*. . . morem rursus coeundi ad capiendum cibum promiscuum tamen et innoxium, quod ipsum facere desisse post edictum meum.*" Apparently, "*quod ipsum*" refers immediately to "*ad capiendum cibum*," which cannot consequently, mean "partake of the Eucharist," since it is inconceivable that the Christians should abandon the very essential act of their religion. Professor Ramsay<sup>46</sup> adds the support of his learning to this explanation by a reference to the Roman Law in regard to societies. "The Roman government," he says, "expressly allowed to all peoples the right of meeting for purely religious purposes." The morning meetings of the Christians were religious and Pliny obviously accepts them as strictly (*i. e.*, in the strict sense of the term) legal. The evening meeting was social, it included a common meal, and therefore constituted the Christ-

<sup>45</sup> This word "oath," "sacramentum," has naturally been an object of discussion. In view of the aversion of the Christians to taking an "oath," it may seem possible that the word "sacramentum" already had its later meaning, and that therefore it means the Eucharist, though Pliny could not understand it in any other than a judicial sense "oath." However, it is improbable that the Christian word "sacramentum" is of so early an origin. Tertullian, transcribing the passage, paraphrases *sacramento se obstringere*, adds *ad confederandam disciplinam*. Apolog. C. 2. In any case our argument concerning the meaning of *cibum promiscuum* is not invalidated.

<sup>46</sup> The Church in the Roman Empire," p. 219, f. f.



ian community a *sodalitas*, an illicit assembly. The Christians abandoned the illegal meeting but continued the legal one.<sup>47</sup>

"This fact is one of the utmost consequence. It shows that the Christian communities were quite alive to the necessity of acting according to the law and of using the forms of the law to screen themselves, as far as was consistent with their principles."

This opinion of Mr. Ramsay, if accepted, must prove that the words of the text of Pliny refer very plainly to a common meal, an Agapé, and not to the Eucharist.<sup>48</sup>

"The question whether any meeting of the Christians could have been 'in the strict sense of the term legal' has been vigorously debated. Professor Ramsay maintains, with the usual authority of his erudition, that 'there was no express law or formal edict against the Christians in particular, nor were they prosecuted for contravening any formal law of a wider character interpreted as applying to them.' The prosecutions under this theory were instigated by popular sentiment, and carried out in virtue of an established principle that the Christians were outlaws, utterly beyond the scope of positive legal enactments. Mgr. Duchesne appears to corroborate Professor Ramsay's view in a recent article in the 'Miscellanea di Storia Ecclesiastica,' etc. (Rome, November, 1902), holding that it is hardly possible to consider the emperors of the first two centuries as veritable persecutors. The true persecutor in these times was the pagan public. In the third and fourth centuries, the case was different, special edicts being issued," etc.

On the other side of the controversy the most considerable figure is M. Paul Allard ("Histoire des Persécutions," p. 64, ff., and p. 160), who declares it his conviction that actual edicts, making the Christians nominally and effectively an illicit association, were issued in the times of Nero and Domitian. Nero, according to Sulpitius Severus ("Chron.," II, 41), had decreed in terse phrasing characteristic of the Roman Law "*Non licet esse vos.*" Domitian added the charge, whether or not it was embodied in an edict "*propter atheismum et mores Judaicos.*" Tertullian (Apol. 4, 5) argues throughout as if he knew of written existing laws against the Christians, and to his testimony may be added the less weighty, but not less decisive words of Melito of Sardis (Eusebius, H. E., IV, 26), of the author of "de Mortibus Persecutorum" and Orosius ("Adv. Pag. Hist.," 7, 5).

The controversy, then, is a serious one, not to be settled off hand in a note. For our practical purpose we may say that whatever the issue, whether it be determined that the Christians under Trajan were or were not in a strictly legal position, the explanation I have given of their conduct in Bithynia under Pliny, is reasonable. If there were particular laws against them, it would be well for them to give up such of their meetings as would make them an illegal society, in order to be able to show themselves in all thing law-abiding, as far as possible, that is, in matters where the law of the state did not come in conflict with the higher law of God. That the Christians did so conduct themselves was the favorite contention of all the apologists. If, on the other hand, there were no law against them as Christians, they would again do well to escape the law against *sodalicia*, in order to be able to prove that persecution against them had no legal warrant.

In both hypotheses it would seem very probable that the meeting abandoned by the Christians in consequence of the edict of Trajan against "*Sodalicia*," was such a meeting as brought them under the edict—namely a social meeting *ad capiendum cibum*, in effect an Agapé.

"This opinion, however, though we believe it can be demonstrated true, is debatable; but strangely enough, Mgr. Batiffol, who for the moment has turned from Dr. Keating and crossed swords with Professor Ramsay, chooses for his

From the discussion, then, of the text of Pliny we may conclude that the probable facts are these: Because of the pressure of the law against societies enacted by the emperor and actively enforced by his governor, the Christians abandoned one of their two meetings. The meeting abandoned could not have been the Eucharistic one, yet it was one in which they took their *cibum promiscuum et innoxium*. This common food, then, was not the Eucharist. There is no reason for denying the traditional belief that it was the Agapé. Therefore an Agapé had probably been in existence in Bithynia previous to the time of Pliny's letter to Trajan.

But was this Agapé connected with the Eucharist? Probably not. We have seen that there were two meetings. The social gathering was held in the evening; its feature was the partaking of food in common. The other meeting was held in the morning; its feature, in the words of the governor, was *sacramento se obstringere*. It has been pointed out by Lightfoot and others that since the Christians were undoubtedly opposed to the taking of an oath of any kind, the word *sacramentum*, naturally misunderstood by the Roman lawyer, may have already obtained its technical meaning of "the mystery," and so may, in Pliny, indicate the Holy Eucharist.

Tertullian uses the word *sacramentum eucharistiæ*, and speaks of its being celebrated "*in antelucanis cætibus*."<sup>49</sup> Now, the words of Pliny informants are strikingly similar. They met *ante lucem* and a *sacramentum* was the purpose of their meeting.

If this surmise is correct; if the *sacramentum* was indeed the Eucharist, and the *cibum promiscuum*, on the other hand, was the Agapé, we have come to a conclusion of no little significance—that in one of the provinces, in the first years of the second century, the Love-Feast had ceased to have its liturgical character. It does not follow, of course, that the separ-

point of attack the least vulnerable point in his adversary's reasoning, the very sound and documentarily defensible statement that strictly religious associations were not under the ban with mere *sodalicia*. The very assembling for religious service, he maintains, was enough to constitute the Christian a *sodalitas*, and therefore the morning meeting, as well as that of the evening, was illegal ("Etudes," etc., p. 290). It would be interesting to know by what process of thought Mgr. Batiïfol escapes the plainly contradictory clause of the *Lex Julia* "*religionis causa coire non prohibentur*."

<sup>49</sup> "De Corona Militis," c. 3.

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ation took place thus early all over the empire;<sup>50</sup> still, the fact arrived at is of essential importance in our investigation, and deserving of more than passing remark. I shall return to it again in concluding the discussion of the texts of the second century.

And now naturally we are led to the promised suggestion concerning the silence of Justin Martyr, a suggestion that is a corollary to the thesis of the separation of the Eucharist from the Agapé in the time of Pliny.

If the law against *sodalitia* was so strictly enforced by Trajan in the provinces, it was, we may suppose, enforced also at Rome. Hence, in all probability, the Agapé was abandoned *in urbe* as well as *in orbe* somewhere in the vicinity of the year 112. It is conceivable, then, that Justin, born in the year 100, knew little or nothing about it by personal experience, and whatever he may have known of it by tradition, he would hardly mention in a petition for tolerance of the Christian worship. It was enough for him to defend what had to be defended, without adding to his task the burden of an apology for a custom already abandoned and not essential. Hence, he ignores the Agapé. There are evidences, however, that it was suffering, in the time of Justin, only a temporary obscurity. Its end had not yet come.

The critical text for or against the second-century Agapé and, indeed, for or against the Agapé in any century, is found in the thirty-ninth chapter of the Apologeticus of Tertullian. Dr. Kraus,<sup>51</sup> summarizing all the passages of Christian and pagan literature of the first four centuries, which refer to the Agapé selects only six as *loci classici*. Of these six, four are taken from the writings of Tertullian, and the most important of the four is undoubtedly the one I have named. Hence, it is conservative to say that the fate of this text, under criticism, must go far to determine whether the story of the Agapé be fact or fable.

Mgr. Batiffol, coming to this discussion, begins with a retraction. He had, he confesses, considered Tertullian as an

<sup>50</sup> At Alexandria, e. g. (to name the extreme exception) the union seems to have lasted centuries longer (Socrates, H. E., v., 22).

<sup>51</sup> "Real Encyclopædie," s. v. *Agapé*.

unobjectionable witness of the existence of the Agapé,<sup>52</sup> but a more careful study has convinced him that Tertullian really "says not a word about the Agapé."<sup>53</sup>

Assuredly, there ought to be a powerful reason for such a complete *volte-face* as this. What is Mgr. Batiffol's reason? Evidently it is not external authority, for here, as elsewhere, he stands in most conspicuous isolation. "All the critics," as he says, "have seen—and all except him do still see—an undeniable evidence of the Agapé in Tertullian. It is natural then, that we should expect some exceptionally luminous criticism, some particularly cogent argumentation in Mgr. Batiffol's discussion of the passage before us. Let us see if our expectations shall be realized.

This famous thirty-ninth chapter of the *Apologeticus*—it will be remembered—is alternately a glowing description of Christian manners and virtues, and a withering excoriation of the contrasted pagan customs and vices. The pagans, on their own acknowledgment, are without affection, without fraternal charity, but the Christians "love one another," care for one another; they have a common treasure, the provision of the spontaneous generosity of the brethren. This "deposit fund of piety" is used for the relief of the poor and the shipwrecked, for those that are exiled to the mines, for widows and orphans, and in general, for all such as are in need of charity. "One thing the moneys are not used for," says Tertullian—and there is a savage irony in his allusion—"they are not spent on feasts, drinking-bouts and eating-houses."

Now notice here, says Mgr. Batiffol, the common fund of the Christian community is not spent on eating and drinking. Yes, we do notice the statement, but we notice too, with surprise, the insinuation in the interpretation. Mgr. Batiffol will have us suppose that this passing fling from the "perfervid African" is a downright denial that any Christian money was spent in providing common feasts. We shall remember this assertion and refer to it. Tertullian continues: "So true and so practical is brotherly love in the Christian society that the faithful hold all their goods in common. There is com-

<sup>52</sup> "Dic. de Théologie," s. v. *Agapé*.

<sup>53</sup> "Etudes," etc., p. 291.

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munity of property among the brethren, just as—and here he is himself again—there is community of wives among the pagans.” And finally, coming to the matter which is of present interest to us—the indignant apologist exclaims: “You abuse our humble feasts; every pagan club can wallow in its gluttony; the Megarans feast as if they were to die to-morrow, . . . the Salii cannot feast without running into debt,” to reckon the cost of the public sacrificial banquets would require the skill of an expert accountant; the official celebration of the mysteries calls for the most skilful chefs obtainable, the kitchens wherein is prepared the banquet of Serapis vomit forth enough smoke to bring out the fire-department; all this is not alone tolerated, but encouraged; while the modest supper-room of the Christians is the cause of great commotion and indignation among the Romans. And now that they may know what goes on in that modest supper-room. Tertullian proceeds to describe the Christian custom exactly.

“Our feast explains itself by its name. The Greeks call it *Agapé* *i. e.*, affection. Whatever it costs our outlay in the name of piety is gain, since with the good things of the feast we benefit the needy. If the object of our feast be good, in the light of that consider its further regulations. As it is an act of religious service, it permits no vileness or immodesty. The participants before reclining taste first of prayer to God. As much is eaten as satisfies the cravings of hunger; as much is drunk as benefits the chaste. They say it is enough who remember that even during the night they have to worship God. . . . After washing of hands and the bringing in of lights, each is asked to stand forth and sing, as he can, a hymn to God, either one from the Holy Scriptures or one of his own composing—a proof of the measure of our drinking. As the feast commenced with prayer, so with prayer it is closed. We go from it, not like troops of mischief-makers, nor gangs of vagabonds, nor to break out into licentious acts, but to have as much care of our chastity as if we had been at a school of virtue rather than at a banquet.”

I have quoted this entire passage, because the narrative itself is clearer than any transcript that could be made of it. It requires no particular zealous partisan to see that these sentences are as irrefragable a testimony to the existence of the *Agapé* as could be constructed. Even Mgr. Batiffol, who,



when he wrote his article "Agapes" in the "Dictionnaire de Théologie," was anxious to bring its origin down as late as possible, was compelled to confess that here in Tertullian was what he called the first historical evidence of the practice of the Love-Feast. But now after "*une étude plus attentive*," of the text quoted, he draws the astounding conclusion: "Such is Tertullian's description, which we consider to be a description of the Eucharist and not of the Agapé." If any lesser authority than Mgr. Batiffol stood sponsor for such an opinion, we might say: "Your conclusion is evidently at fault, the passage stands for itself." But he is among the first of our critics and he is in his own field of historical criticism. He once shared the opinion of the ordinary reader, yes and of "all the critics" and he declares that only as the result of more searching investigation has he changed his mind. Not courtesy, then, but duty demands that we attempt, at least, to follow along the path of his argument.

His first reason is a sweeping one—a trifle *a priori*, to be sure, but not less conclusive on that account. This apparent feast cannot be the Agapé, he says, it must be the Eucharist. Why? Because the apologist *must* speak as Justin Martyr does, of the Eucharist. But unless Tertullian speaks of it here, he speaks of it nowhere in the Apologeticus. Therefore, he speaks of it here! Was there ever so bold an application of *a priori* reasoning!

Everyone knows that this kind of argument is an exceedingly delicate weapon of controversy. If handled at all, it must be used with great dexterity, and even then, it can be of advantage only when an opponent is unarmed with any instrument of defence. But to fare forth into the field of criticism with the slender equipment of a mere *a priori* dictum and hope to overcome an adversary armed with an historical testimony as plain and as broad as words can make it, such as we have seen in the passage quoted, this is to invite defeat.

Yet this is Mgr. Batiffol's venture, and this his preliminary argument. We know he counts it his first argument, because he says he will go on to a second. This second is, if possible, more unsatisfactory than the first. Tertullian, he says, is answering the charge of the pagans—"Your feasts are infam-

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ously wicked." Now the wickedness the pagans alluded to was infanticide, and the charge of infanticide grew out of a gross misunderstanding of the Eucharistic sacrifice. Therefore, the supper which Tertullian describes is the one the pagans misunderstood, the Holy Eucharist. So Mgr. Batiffol.

It is difficult to imagine what may be the function of the ordinary manuals of historical criticism when a master of the art runs riot in this manner. If we could grant that Tertullian is defending his brethren against the charge of infanticide alone, and if we could forget the positive statements in his description of the Christian feast, there might be some show of plausibility in Mgr. Batiffol's contention. But we can do neither the one nor the other. The fact is, the apologist has already, in his seventh chapter, dwelt at length on the accusations of infanticide and incest. Here, in the thirty-ninth chapter he is concerned principally with the accusation of extravagance. He contrasts the luxury of the Megarans and the Sali with the frugality of the Christians, and explains that there is no extravagant outlay of money for the humble repast of the community. Mgr. Batiffol should have had a more plausible foundation for his *a priori* argument.

But to proceed; the charge of crime (be it of one kind or another) is brought forth. Tertullian is ready with his answer. Not the truest and strongest answer which would be a description of the Holy Eucharist;—no, not this, says Mgr. Batiffol, for this would be unintelligible to his pagan readers, but his answer is an appeal to the name of the feast "Agapé," which means "love." Surely a feast bearing such a name could not be made an occasion of infamy: this is proof conclusive. Can Mgr. Batiffol really be so unacquainted with Tertullian—Tertullian always exuberant with argument, always abounding with proof upon proof, Tertullian overwhelming with the riches of his logic and with the flow of his reasons? How could such as he be content with an appeal to a mere word in defence against the accusation of hideous crime!

"Tertullian," continues Mgr. Batiffol, "says not another word about the nature of the feasts (an unintelligible state-

ment in view of what is to come, but these are the *ipsissima verba* of the critic),<sup>54</sup> but the word he uses is the same which St. Ignatius applied to the Eucharist." Now, we can hardly recall that this was the conclusion of our exegesis of St. Ignatius; what we do remember is that this is the word Mgr. Batiffol claims Ignatius gave to the Eucharist, but that a contrary opinion was as strong as his. And here again we are face to face with a fundamental principle of criticism. In the discussion of the passage from Ignatius, Mgr. Batiffol complained that those who translate ἀγάπη by "Love-Feast," in the eighth chapter of Smyrnæans, are in reality reading into the word a meaning it did not have until the fourth century. But now Mgr. Batiffol's adversaries might retort that he persistently refuses to read into the word found in a text of the end of the second century any other meaning than one it may probably have had in the very first years of the century. He says: "If we are to translate ἀγάπη by 'Love-Feast,' we must have no precedent against such a translation in the Epistles of St. Ignatius." Can this be a valid principle of interpretation? May not a word change its meaning in a hundred years? Besides, precedent or no precedent, there is a strong independent reason for reading "Love-Feast" here; namely, the clear description Tertullian gives of the "eating and drinking," of reclining, etc.; a description which must, to put the case as mildly as possible, be taken in a non-natural sense in order to make it mean anything but a literal meal. In the face of this description and of the declaration that the feast described is called ἀγάπη any precedent usage of the word argues but feebly, if at all, against the present translation.

On two points, then, this reasoning of Mgr. Batiffol is unsatisfactory. He would have us accept the very lame theory that Tertullian repels the charge of vice in connection with the Christian *cænula* by an appeal merely to the name of the supper—an almost palpable impossibility when we reflect that we are dealing with Tertullian—and, secondly, he asks us to believe that because one very debatable reading extracts "Eucharist" from ἀγάπη in St. Ignatius, the word, whenever it occurs in Tertullian, *must* mean Eucharist, the possible

<sup>54</sup> L. c., pp. 294-5.

precedent in Ignatius having determined the meaning once for all.

But now we are come to the heart of the matter, the beginning of the actual description—for Tertullian does give a detailed description in spite of Mgr. Batiffol's declaration that "he says nothing of the nature of the feast."

"Whatever it costs the outlay in the name of piety is gain, for with the good things of the feast we feed the needy."

Evidently, it was hasty in our critic to say that the one thing certain about the little fund of the Christian community is that it was not spent for eating and drinking. There is "cost," and "outlay," and the result is "good things of the feast."

"The participants, before reclining, taste first of prayer to God." "So," says Mgr. Batiffol, "some one will say there was a reclining, and therefore, a feast. But no, this word 'reclining' is symbolic! Just as the words '*cænula*,' '*triclinium*' and '*convivium*,' elsewhere in Tertullian are symbolic, so here '*discumbitur*,' 'reclining,' is symbolic."

Shall we dare accuse the *savant* of so puerile a fault as *petitio principii*? Who says "*cænula*" "*triclinium*," "*convivium*" are symbolic? Only Mgr. Batiffol. And who says "*discumbitur*" is symbolic? Again, only Mgr. Batiffol. And why is "*discumbitur*" symbolic? Because "*cænula*," etc., are symbolic.

"As much is eaten as satisfies the cravings of hunger: as much is drunk as benefits the chaste."

The language does look more and more like a description of a substantial meal, but no, it is all symbolic, says the critic, and he summons his erudition—summons it too, from afar—to support his theory. The description of Abercius, he informs us, speaks of a mystical Bread and Wine which is Christ; so here the faithful eat and drink mystically. They "recline at a table," "satisfy the cravings of hunger," "drink moderately," but we are asked to believe that all this is done *in spiritu* and not *in veritate* because the inscription of Abercius speaks of a mystical Bread and Wine which is Christ.

"At the close of the meal, each one is asked to stand forth and sing, as he can, a hymn to Christ—a proof of the measure of our drinking,"

"which means," says Mgr. Batiffol, "that they hardly drank at all." True, if he will have it so, but Tertullian does not say so; rather they drank "as much as befits the chaste."

It was an ungracious task a moment ago, to convict a veteran critic of neglect of one of the rudimentary principles of his art, and we must be loth even to suspect that so capable a scholar can make the mistakes of a novice; none the less it must be recorded that he has, if not mistranslated, yet strangely manipulated the closing text of the passage. Tertullian says:

*"Hæc coitio Christianorum merito sane illicita, si illicitis par merito damnanda si non dissimilis dammandis."*

Now, the natural translation of these words is: "This assembly of the Christians is illicit if it is like (other) illicit assemblies; it is to be condemned if it is not unlike (other) assemblies that are to be condemned." that is "*hæc coitio*" is the subject of "*est illicita et damnanda*." The reader will pardon this elementary information when I say that Mgr. Batiffol translates "*Hæc coitio Christianorum*," this is the assembly of the Christians," and proceeds to construct an argument from his translation, "*this*," *this alone*, and no other is the Christian assembly. "What," he asks himself, "no other assembly;" and he likewise answers himself, "None," for Tertullian says "*this* is the assembly of the Christians." Therefore since there is no other which might be the Eucharistic one, this is the Eucharistic one, and "any indea of an Agapé is out of the question."<sup>55</sup>

Surely, this is swift logic and extraordinary, but it is painful to remember that the whole argument rests upon so small a thing as a punctuation mark, and that the punctuation mark is of Mgr. Batiffol's own insertion. Drop the colon which he places (and he alone) after "*Christianorum*," and the argument falls to the ground.

One more statement invites comment; he makes it at the beginning of his consideration of Tertullian, but its value may

<sup>55</sup> L. c., p. 297.

be better seen now. "In this chapter," he says,<sup>56</sup> "Tertullian describing the different Christian reunions" (he has just said, by the way, that there was only one reunion), "mentions as the exercises of these reunions, prayer, reading of the Scriptures and the administration of censures . . . but he says nothing at all about a common repast." But we ask with all patience, how can Tertullian speak of a common repast, if when he talks of reclining at table, of eating and drinking, of suppers, and banquets, you deny that all this means a repast? In what words would Mgr. Batiffol have his author describe a supper if not in these words; supposing Tertullian wanted to describe a feast, how could he be more explicit than he is?

But, perhaps, I have delayed too long on faults of reasoning that are only too evident. Tertullian is clearly a witness of the Agapé and nothing proves it better than the violence of the attempt we have seen to distort his testimony. The fact that Mgr. Batiffol is dominated by his thesis is patent. He has manipulated words and sentences arbitrarily, he has suggested unnatural and improbable explanations of statements that needed no explanation, he has most strangely violated elementary principles of criticism, he has misused his erudition, and, what is worse than all this, he proceeds to impute motives to those who do not agree with him.

He says, p. 299: "Mr. Keating is evidently one of those dogmatists who are disposed to think that texts never prove anything against theses!" But the end and the outcome of the argument of the leading opponent of the Agapé is to settle our conviction that Tertullian is an undeniable witness to its existence.<sup>57</sup>

As to the character of the Agapé in Tertullian, there can be little doubt. There is no evidence whatsoever that the feast detailed in *Apologeticus* 39, had any connection with Eucharist. On the contrary there is explicit statement of the fact that it was given primarily to help the poor and needy. It was not in any sense Eucharistic.

<sup>56</sup> L. c., 292.

<sup>57</sup> There are several other passages in Tertullian, which bear on the Agapé, viz., "Ad Martyras," c. 156; "de Baptismo," c. 9; "de Jejunio," c. 17 (these three with Apolog. c. 39 are the "loci-classici" of Kraus); "ad Uxorem," ii, 5; "ad Nationes," 7; "de Corona Militis," 3 (these three are rather irrelevant though quoted by Dr. Keating).

Thus is completed the examination of the texts we have named as important among the documents of the second century Agapé. Two deductions, it seems, may be given as the result.

*First:* There are evidences, strong and convincing, of the existence in the second century of a Christian common meal, and that in the early part of the century this meal had a peculiar sacred character; that it was, in fact, the liturgical Agapé.

*Second:* This very tangible evidence may be used retroactively, so to speak, in support of the less evident evidences of the first century. It is no violation, but rather an application, of sound critical principles to use the certain knowledge yielded by sub-apostolic documents for the elucidation of uncertain passages in the New Testament. One need not, by claiming this, lay oneself open to the charge of "reading a second-century meaning into a first-century text." Not at all, for this could only be if the first-century text had a certain and demonstrable meaning of its own, contradictory to that of the later text. In the case in hand, the earlier documents have no such inviolable certainty of meaning. They are, to say the most—or the least—dubious; they may be read in either of two ways, and therefore the interpreter of them may legitimately assist himself by a reference to and a comparison with the more evident meaning of the later texts.

The question of the liturgical character of the Agapé in the second century, is a little more complex. Outside the canonical writings there are few, almost none, that contribute accurately to our information on this point. It is admitted by all, that as far as we may judge from written documents, the Eucharist was separated from its primitive setting, in many parts of the Church, long before the end of the second century. Starting with this acknowledged truth, we may, by a process of elimination push back the date of their disunion until we come to a point not many decades removed from the time of the Holy Scriptures themselves. Tertullian, describing the Agapé as it was conducted in the latter half of the second century gives us, as we have seen, no reason for thinking that it was part of the ritual of the Eucharist. On the contrary, he inclines us to believe, if we compare the passage already dis-

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cussed with the passage "*De Corona Militis*," c. 3,<sup>58</sup> that the two were held at opposite extremities of the day.

Justin Martyr, describing the Eucharist, as it was celebrated fifty years before Tertullian, makes no mention of an Agapé as its accompaniment. Already, then, we are in the first half of the second century; how much further back must we go to find the Agapé occupying its primary position of honor? Mgr. Duchesne gives his opinion that the Eucharistic Agapé had ceased as early as "one hundred years after the first preaching of the Gospel," and there is no means of gainsaying his statement. Hence, we are come from the first half into the first quarter of the second century. And here we read some definite information, the letter of Pliny to Trajan, written in the year 112, which, as I have suggested, is the important document for the determination of the time when the Agapé had ceased to be liturgical. Its testimony is, not only that the separation had taken place in the year 112, but that some time previous to that date the Christians had ceased to observe the common meal.

Farther back than Pliny's letter we cannot go, for no earlier text yields any sure information relevant to the question of the character of the Agapé.<sup>59</sup>

From the extra-canonical writings, we have but a negligibly amount of data from which to argue to the existence of a Eucharistic Agapé. So insignificant, indeed, is the information on this point, and so reluctantly is it yielded to the exegete that anyone having at heart the thesis that Agapé was indeed liturgical after the time of St. Paul, must be often worried for proofs. Suffice it for us, having no particular thesis, but being concerned only with the fact, to state the evidence, such as it is and let it determine its own worth as historical evidence.

III. *Conclusion.*—The net results of our short research into the existence and character of the primitive Agapé, may be set down briefly thus:

<sup>58</sup> "Eucharistiæ sacramentum etiam antelucanis cætibz sumimus."

<sup>59</sup> I think this is true, in spite of the opinion of Lightfoot and Zahn, that of the Eucharistic Agapé there are indications in early documents besides Ignatius, especially in the *Didaché*. Dr. Bigg, in his edition of "The Teaching of the Apostles," denies that the *Didaché* contains any certain mention, not to say a description, of the Agapé. An examination of the texts usually cited—10, 1; 11, 9; 16, 2; and 14, 1—confirms his opinion rather than that of Lightfoot or of Zahn.

The Agapé remains a phenomenon surrounded by not a little mystery. Much of the traditional information so confidently asserted in manuals and even in special treatises, is supported by very meagre documentary evidence. Not only are the sources usually alleged few, at the best, but perhaps a majority of them cannot stand scrutiny. Scholars who hold to the theory that the Agapé was the primitive rite of the Holy Eucharist, and therefore, a prominent feature of early Christian worship, are confounded with an insoluble problem: Why is there so little mention of this rite in the Christian documents of the first two centuries? Out of a score of the so-called evidences of the second century, not more than three or four are satisfactory, and the greater part of those rejected are so patently inapplicable that one can only be astonished to know that they were ever brought forth in testimony.

Farther, even among what we reckon the valid texts of the second century, all save one—Tertullian's *Apologeticus*—are vague and dubious; they need not a little exegesis and some application of comparative criticism before they yield available information. The texts of the Sacred Scripture—they are few—need the support of one another and of the later testimonies, if they are to prove that the Agapé was of a liturgical character.

This is one way of presenting the difficulty. Another way is to mention the writers who might reasonably be expected to mention the Agapé and yet ignore it: the Didaché, Clement of Rome to the Corinthians, The Epistle to Diognetus, Justin Martyr, Tatian, Athenagoras, all the apologists in fact, except Tertullian. Ignatius, Pliny and Tertullian are the only writers who give explicit or positive witness to its existence. Let it be understood, of course, that this number of those who ought to speak and are silent is not so summarily thrown out of court by the *ex-professo* counsellors for the defence of the Agapé; many of them are summoned as valuable witnesses, but I think, whether wisely or unwisely, that they have little or nothing of value to offer.

Now the question remains: Can the tradition of the existence of a primitive liturgical Agapé be deemed valid when so many writers ignore it, and when the few who speak of it—with

an exception or two—use equivocal language? I think the answer must be in the affirmative. For though I appreciate the difficulty of the proof, and do not, with Mgr. Batiffol,<sup>60</sup> declare there is no puzzle in the matter save for those who choose to make one, still I feel that sufficient reasons have been indicated, in spite of the many *lacunæ* of evidence, to encourage and support a conviction that the Agapé existed in the primitive days of Christianity and that it was primarily a part of the Eucharistic service. These two points were the main object of our discussion. We found them both denied, we have reached an opinion that the denial is unwarranted.

As to the means of arriving at the conclusion, the general rules of interpretation which I have endeavored to follow have been insinuated in passing. Suffice it to say, by way of résumé, that I have been unable to accept the stringent canons of criticism implicitly laid down by Mgr. Batiffol. I have thought that, provided there be some actual documentary witness and a considerable tradition for the existence of an alleged fact, we must not insist too rigorously upon having positive and full demonstration of its historicity, especially if we are dealing with an institution of such remote antiquity. A thousand difficulties need not make a doubt. Tradition, rational hypothesis and historical imagination go far to fill up the gaps in the written and monumental evidences.

The rigid criticism exercised by Mgr. Batiffol, has not been without its provocation in the placidity with which many writers have accepted conclusions on the Agapé simply because they are traditional. But we fear the eminent critic, in his indignation, has wielded the weapons of his warfare recklessly and has succeeded only in wounding himself and his own thesis.

Moreover, I imagine there is a trace of *animus* discoverable in his effort. He seems to be nettled by a fear of the unorthodoxy of the old opinion. His final words have in them something of the bitter savor of controversy: "Perhaps the Protestants have affirmed (the traditional view of the Agapé as the rite of the Eucharist) gladly, seeing in it a fact capable of weakening the Catholic conception of the mass, and Catholics,

<sup>60</sup> L. c., p. 279.

not suspecting this aspect of the question, have just as confidently accepted the traditional view."

We must confess that we are still among the unsuspecting Catholics who can see in the Agapé even though it be part of the primitive ritual of the Eucharist, no danger for our conception of the Holy Sacrifice. During the whole investigation we have met with no suggestion, worthy of notice, that the idea of the Mass can be in the remotest way affected by the character of the Agapé. As for the possible bias of Protestant scholars, it is noticeable they have generally been at pains to explain that the Eucharist and the Agapé are essentially different institutions. Dr. Keating, whom Mgr. Batiffol singles out as his especial opponent, is especially explicit in this matter. Though he laments a little over the fate of the Agapé, he says (p. 152): "But after all, it was the Eucharist and not the Agapé that was of divine institution, and so it was the Eucharist, the institution of Him who 'knew what was in man,' and not the Agapé, which man had, with the best intentions, added to the Eucharist, that survived." True it is, that not all scholars have seen this essential distinction so clearly. Corblet complains<sup>61</sup> that not only some erudite Protestants, but Visconti himself ("De Ritibus Missæ," I., 2) confounded the religious ceremony of the Agapé with the sacrifice of the Mass." But these have been the exceptions to the rule; their opinions have had no weight; all modern critics, Protestant and rationalist as well as Catholic, generally agree that the Eucharist was always distinct from the Agapé, even though the two were not always separated.

There seems, then, to be no need of fearing for the Catholic idea of the Mass, because of any researches that have been made into the question of the Love-Feast. The polemical element need not enter the field; it is a matter for the investigation of those who are concerned purely with the history of the liturgy, and when all is said that may be said on the Agapé, the conclusion will be given in the words of the Ordinances of the Egyptian Church "It is blessed bread, but not a sacrament, like the Body of the Lord."

<sup>61</sup> "Histoire de l'Eucharistie," II., p. 581.

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IV. *The Later Agapé.*—It will be impossible to prolong this paper sufficiently to follow the Agapé through the third and fourth centuries, but a word may be said of this later Agapé merely by way of summarizing conclusions, not of proving them.

The real enigma in the history of the Agapé comes in the third century. Though we might naturally expect, from what we have seen, that in that period there would be a development and an expansion of the custom, all such expectations prove delusive. The third century writers who may be cited by even the most eager partisan of the Agapé are only three, Clement of Alexandria, Origen and Cyprian. Of these Clement has no commendatory reference to a Christian Agapé, but in two or three places<sup>62</sup> he vigorously denounces what may have been either a relic of the early liturgical Agapé or a survival of a pagan religious feast. As for Origen and Cyprian they say so little, and say that little so obscurely, that they prove nothing.

Hence, after examining the passages carefully, I find myself changing masters, going over in allegiance to Mgr. Batiffol, who derides any attempt to show an Agapé in these writers of the third century. This change of base may seem strange, but it is the only possible move for one who examines the texts with no disconcerting thesis or prejudice.

True, there is some room for discussion over the passages in the "*Pædagogus*" of Clement, but the best defence of the Agapé that can possibly be urged from the writings of the great Alexandrine is that he reluctantly tolerates the practice of a religious meal, but reprobates the habit of calling it an Agapé.

There is only one passage in all the voluminous writings of Origen,<sup>63</sup> that can be alleged as a bare reference to the Agapé, and that one passage is scarcely relevant. At least it shows nothing definite. Cyprian is even a poorer witness than either Clement or Origen. In fact, the net result of a careful examination of the Christian documents of the third century can be only a conviction that in those one hundred

<sup>62</sup> *Pædag.* II, 1; II, 10, et.

<sup>63</sup> *Contra Celsum*, I, 1.

years there fell from the pen of not one writer, east or west, a sure undeniable reference to a phenomenon alleged to have been of weekly if not of daily occurrence throughout the whole Church. The significance of this conclusion must speak for itself.

The fourth century, however, yields a generous supply of texts, mostly from the various Church Ordinances, which show a vigorously flourishing Agapé. But it was not the Agapé of earlier days. Though it was perhaps, chronologically, a reminiscence of the primitive liturgical Agapé, it was essentially a survival or a transformation of a foreign and totally different institution, that of the pagan semi-religious, semi-social feastings. Towards the end of the century it degenerated very rapidly; it became first unrecognizable as a symbolic feast of love, and then even intolerable as a means of Christian charity. The Agapæ were changed into funeral feasts, banquets, or meals at the graves of the dead. We know the consequences from the indignant remonstrances of a small host of bishops, synods and councils. Regulation became impossible, tolerance would have been fatal. We hear of "gluttony" "debauchery," and of drunkenness so common at funerals as no longer to be considered a sin, and of Christians urging one other to drink to excess ostensibly in honor of martyrs, over whose tombs they were carousing. The abuses must have been notorious. They afforded a weapon of controversy to Julian the Apostate, and to Faustus the Manichæan. Augustine and Ambrose stigmatize the feasts as "quasi-parentalia," "so-called Agapæ," and declared that they made inns of the churches and Bacchian groves of the cemeteries.

Evidently this could not endure. The feasts were overwhelmed with anathemas; all meals in connection with any sacred service were abolished—outlawed as paganism—a lamentable fate for a custom that had been, at its beginning, a sign and symbol of fraternal love among Christians, and a part of the solemn ceremony that enshrined the celebration of the Blessed Eucharist.

JAMES M. GILLIS, C.S.P.

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## WHO WILL BUILD THE UNIVERSITY CHURCH?

The Catholic University of America needs very badly a suitable church. Large buildings of every character are multiplying on its great campus, and in the immediate vicinity. Libraries, laboratories, and class-rooms are not wanting. But we all miss the noble architectural pile that ought to rise heavenward amid this busy scene of intellectual labor, and consecrate visibly the whole work to the service of Almighty God.

It is only fitting that the choicest of our University buildings should be a beautiful structure destined to shelter the venerable worship of Catholicism, to be an inspiration to all lovers of the fine arts, a home for the solemn and incomparable music of the Church, a stage for the religious instruction fitted to the needs and quality of our students, and a vantage point for the great Catholic art of preaching.

The City of Washington is peculiar among all the cities of the New World for its cosmopolitan character, the high intellectual average of its population, and the ease with which great ideas spread from it throughout the civilized world. Every year an increasing number of conventions and public meetings take place within its limits. Religious bodies tend more than ever to meet here as at a natural center. Only this year the Episcopalians celebrated in this city a kind of General Council that obtained for their body a universal attention and recognition. It is only natural that in the future similar meetings of Catholic dignitaries should take place within the limits of the National Capital. For such occasions a worthy architectural edifice is a primary need.

The Catholic Church in Washington should not be without a noble ecclesiastical building on the grounds of the University in which the religious life of its professors and of its students, lay and ecclesiastical, might find suitable satisfaction, and impulses of a high order.

There ought to be on the most prominent site in the grounds of the University an edifice in which the dignity of

our bishops and our priesthood might be worthily enshrined on the occasion of the annual meetings of the Archbishops and the Trustees of the University, representing the whole episcopate.

The growing body of ecclesiastical students need a large church in which they may carry out the ceremonies of our religious year on a scale commensurate with their antiquity, their solemnity, and their profound significance.

As the life of the great National Capital, destined one day to be the most beautiful and attractive in the world, takes on wider development, the University is coming well within the built-up sections of the city. If we had a beautiful and commodious church on the grounds of the University, the multitude of our Catholic visitors would always find at hand the occasion to spend a few minutes of prayer and thanksgiving to the Almighty in presence of the Blessed Sacrament, and surrounded by convincing evidences of the devotion of Catholicism to the highest spiritual and intellectual ideals.

Finally, we ought to construct here an enduring edifice that would be at once the becoming Tabernacle of the Most High within our academic city, a nursery of piety and religious sentiment, an open book in which all who entered would read the wondrous mercies of God in the redemption of mankind and His continuous love for all His creatures.

Who will consecrate to the honor of God this beautiful temple? It should be at once spacious and inviting, the flower of American Catholic genius in ecclesiastical architecture, a monument visible from far and near. Its tall and slender spire should lift the Cross of Jesus Christ before men and angels. Its protecting shadow should fall over all the homes of religion and the halls of learning that are yearly dotting these grounds in goodly number. Not only earthly renown, but the far more glorious, even eternal, reward of divine approval would forever be the lot and share of those ardent and generous souls who would devote to this work some portion of the worldly goods that Almighty God has blessed them with.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

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## BOOK REVIEWS.

**Hrotsvithæ Opera:** recensuit et emendavit Paulus de Winterfeld.  
Berlin: Weidmann, 1902. 8°, pp. xxiv + 552.

The publishing house of Weidmann in Berlin offers for the use of schools select volumes of the *Monumenta Germaniæ Historica*, and among them the works of Hrotsvitha, the nun of Gandersheim, who in the tenth century, under most unfavorable circumstances, wrote a number of works with a distinctly literary aim. She became thereby a precursor of the great poets who were to illustrate the later mediæval times in Germany. There could be no more striking proof than Hrotsvitha's work of the vitality of mediæval culture amid the most distressing environment. Hrotsvitha wrote some century and a half after the death of the great Frankish Emperor Charles, who had breathed new vigor into the intellectual life of Europe. Meantime, the Northmen had devastated the coasts of the Atlantic and penetrated far into the interior of the old Emperor's possessions. On the east the Hungarians had laid waste the borderland of the German Empire with fire and sword. The sons and descendants of the great Charles proved themselves sad degenerates, incapable of safeguarding the material and cultural interests of their Empire. Men trembled for their property and their lives. How could they think of culture and poetry? When Hrotsvitha appeared, it is true, the accession of the Saxon line of Emperors had brought the dawn of better days. Still, the gloom of the later Carlovingian era hung over the land, and endless wars offered scant encouragement to the peaceful muse. That at such a time she should inspire the inmate of a convent to sing in the strains of the great classic poets of Rome is at once a remarkable phenomenon and a clear proof that the mediæval monasteries were truly homes of an intellectual life and nurseries of such culture as existed. It was a praiseworthy thought to offer to students of history, and especially to the Catholic students of mediæval history, the handsome volume we are bringing to the knowledge of our readers. The publishers have done their duty well, for they have sent forth Hrotsvitha in an attractive dress, and withal at a moderate cost. Paul von Winterfeld, the editor, is a competent scholar, who has spared no pains to furnish us a reliable text, with an introduction that gives us its history and sources, and a life of the poet-nun, scant indeed, but as full as research and criticism could make it. Add

to these "*indices verborum et nominum*" as well as grammatical and metrical indexes and it must be admitted that the student is well equipped to do justice to our poetess.

Hrotsvit, so she always writes her name in the nominative case, was a nun of the Benedictine convent of Gandersheim in Saxony, founded in 852 by Liudolf, a descendant of the famous Saxon duke Widukind. The little we know about her is almost entirely gathered from her own writings. Hrotsvitha was born about the year 935 A. D., of noble Saxon parents, as is inferred from the fact of her being a nun of the convent of Gandersheim; for this monastery was founded and ruled by at least four members of the imperial Saxon family. It is likely enough that Hrotsvitha was a relative of the Abbess Hrotsvitha, who presided over the convent towards the end of the ninth century. Her first mistress of studies, our author tells us herself, was Rikardis; afterwards she received higher instruction, including prosody and metric science, from Gerberg, daughter of Henry, duke of Bavaria and brother of Otto I. Gerberg was very young when as a sister nun she taught Hrotsvitha. She was born about 940 A. D., and became Abbess not very long after 954 A. D.—the precise year cannot be ascertained. Hrotsvitha was perhaps five or six years older than Gerberg, and must have shown signs of promising scholarship when the latter initiated her into the mysteries of poetic composition. Hrotsvitha ever after was warm in expressing her gratitude to the Abbess, who not only taught her but encouraged her in her efforts to cultivate the Latin muse.

The rest of Hrotsvitha's life is her poetry. There we learn to know her as a true nun, devout, humble, and filled with the love and value of holy virginity. Apart from the Latin studies prerequisite for her poetic efforts, she gives us some amusing samples of her inroads into the theory of scholastic music and arithmetic. Most of her similes and metaphors, instead of being drawn from nature or life, are taken from the Bible. She shows a respectable knowledge of many characters of the Old Testament. Her reading in the lives of the saints had been wide in range, and her mind was fixed not only on the incidents of the story and the characters of the heroes, but also on the reflexions scattered throughout the legend. As regards her love of the marvellous, she was a true daughter of her age. In her dramas she shows not the faintest suspicion that the miraculous is the enemy of the dramatic.

Hrotsvitha's first efforts lay in the direction of narrative poetry; she versified the story of the infancy of Our Lord, as told in the Apocryphal Gospel of St. James. Twelve modest lines dedicated

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the poem to her teacher the Abbess Gerberg, whom she begs to undertake its correction. These lines, like the poem itself, are written in elegant distichs, some of considerable rhythmic merit. Others again are heavy and prosaic, and a few pages suffice to convince us that she had either never read the great classical elegiac poets, or had failed to catch their artful charm,—more likely the former. Withal, we are surprised that in her days, and in the retirement of the cloister, a German girl should have succeeded so well in mastering the intricacies of Latin construction and rhythms. Let us not be misunderstood; Hrotsvitha's syntax is not always immaculate, her quantities are far from correct at all times and her verse structure often limps. On the other hand, let us bear in mind that systematic syntax was only slowly built up by the Middle Ages, and was practically unknown to the classical grammarians. The poet-nun has a vocabulary almost free from barbarism. A closer scrutiny would suggest great familiarity with the most ancient Latin writers, especially Plautus, were we not reminded ever and anon that it may have been drawn from Festus and his abbreviators, or from grammarians like Priscian. No doubt as regards the specifically Christian part of her vocabulary, Prudentius was one of her chief sources. The more closely we examine Hrotsvitha's writings from the stylistic side, the oftener are we surprised by finding that many of her strangest expressions are supported by ancient authority.

The History of Christ's Childhood, or *Maria* as it is entitled by Hrotsvitha, is written in elegiac verse; its successor, *The Lord's Ascension*, which critics regard as the completion of *Maria*, is in leonine hexameters. But we meet with few double rhymes, and even the simple rhymes are often neglected.

As to the subject matter of Hrotsvitha's poems, we find precisely what is to be expected from a nun. She sings the heroism and purity of the Saints, especially of the holy virgins, the cunning of Satan and the mercies of God. Her themes are almost without exception taken from the legends and the martyrologies of the saints. She celebrates the martyrdom of St. Gongulfus, St. Denis and St. Agnes, basing her story on written legends, relates the passion of St. Pelagius, a Spanish martyr of Cordova, as told her by an eye-witness, and tells two stories of men who sold their souls to the devil but were saved by the intercession of the Blessed Virgin and St. Basil. In her dramas subjects of precisely the same character are treated; in "*Gallicanus*," the story of the martyrdom of Sts. John and Paul, that of Sts. Agape, Chionia and Irene in "*Dulcitius*," and that of Sts. Fides, Spes and Caritas in "*Sapientia*." The glories and trials of holy virginity are

sung in "Abraham," "Pafnutius," and incidentally in nearly all the plays in which the immediate theme is martyrdom. When we run over the entire list we must recognize at once that Hrotsvitha's literary work was the natural outgrowth of her daily life in the cloister. This would surely suggest the celebration of virginity and its heroines, while her Saxon nationality, the short time elapsed since the conversion of her people to the faith, the descent of Liudolf, the founder of the monastery at Gandersheim, from Widukind the Saxon chief who first opposed Christianity with all his might and finally became its zealous advocate, would lead her to praise the champions of the faith, and to expose the cruelties of its heathen persecutors.

If literary appreciation and creative power, as evidenced in her narrative poems, deserve our attention, her dramatic efforts are still more worthy of notice. Whether we compare her language with that of the mysteries or moralities out of which developed the modern drama, or consider her taste, her vigor, and at times her power to conceive the feelings of a character in a given situation, we cannot fail to see her great superiority over the early mediæval dramatists. But what most surprises us is that a pious nun, unacquainted with the ways of the world should have succeeded so well in a species of literary composition, which requires, as all agree, a thorough knowledge of men and motives. What led Hrotsvitha to try her powers in this new and novel species of literature? She herself tells us that as many in her day read the clever but salacious plays of Terence, she determined to celebrate in similar compositions the praiseworthy virginity of holy maidens. The statement is clear and concise, and we may infer therefrom, without hesitation, that Hrotsvitha's "comedies" were not written for the stage. But what shall we say of her success as a follower of Terence? Whoever reads these plays without prejudice or favor will agree that, while of a high merit as compared with similar efforts even of later mediæval times and by writers more favored, her poems from their technical side in no way suggest that Terence was her model. She knows nothing of the three unities. Her plots, if the plays can be said to have plots, are without dramatic coherence, while the action jumps from place to place, and extends over months and years. Her love of the marvellous prohibits a development of her stories in accordance with probability and psychological truth. And yet, Terence, wicked as he is, is a master of dramatic technique. Hrotsvitha says that she wrote these plays in a dramatic rhythm and the manuscripts exhibit the text so as to show sentences divided up into periods which not unfrequently rhyme;



but the poet has not the faintest suspicion of Terence's metres. In this respect the poet-nun differs in no wise from her contemporaries nor from mediæval scholars in general. Indeed, if anything, her rhythms suggests the rhythm of the psalms recited daily by her in the office, with this difference that her lines are rhymed. Wherein, then, does Hrotsvitha imitate Terence? No doubt so far as the difference of theme and time permitted, first of all in his language, secondly, in depicting female characters only, as Hrotsvitha herself tells us, Terence relates the story of the disgraceful vices of lascivious women, while she celebrates the purity of holy virgins. Finally, she follows Terence by telling her story in dialogue.

We have already said that the subject of our author's dramas are drawn, one and all, from the legends or martyrologies of the saints; we must add that she follows her sources with almost slavish fidelity, so that even some of her finest remarks are copied bodily. Of invention properly so called, she shows almost no trace. Compare her writings, let us say with Shakespeare's history-plays, in this particular, and we will see at once the difference between a dramatic artist and a scrupulous copyist. Her method in this respect forbids all real dramatic construction, and justifies Hauck's description of the plays as a "dialogised narrative."<sup>1</sup> In two passages only do we meet with more lengthy insertions; the part added being in each case taken from scholastic philosophy. In the "Pafnutius," that saint gives his disciples a long lesson on music which, while quite curious to the modern reader, has no connection whatsoever with the action of the play. We may, however, extract a line or two, to show with what feelings Hrotsvitha and her sisters looked upon knowledge. "Not the knowledge of the knowable," says Pafnutius to his class, "offends God, but conscious injustice," and again, "The better one sees how wonderful are the laws which God has established in number, measure and weight, the more vivid the love of God is kindled in us." In the "Sapientia," the mother who bears that name, undertakes to confuse the tyrant Hadrian by a lecture on scientific arithmetic, which certainly puzzles the modern reader. Were the passage shortened and intended to produce a comic effect it might pass, but as it stands it is quite tedious, though Hrotsvitha herself, if we understand her remarks about the worth of the philosophical "patches" she has inserted into her dramas, considers these passages of special value.

It remains to say a word about Hrotsvitha's power to paint and develop character. If we bear in mind that her aim was to paint the

<sup>1</sup> Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, III, p. 300.

virtue of holy maidens and the heroism of Christian martyrs, and to provide edification for her readers, where Terence sowed the seeds of vice; if we then appreciate her natural directness, her single-mindedness, and her ignorance of the world, we will not expect in her plays any marked attempt at developing dramatic character. Accordingly we find that most of her characters are lay figures. The martyrs are all of one type, without individuality. Constantine the Great in the "*Gallicanus*" (her first play) is a sorry creation. Far more lifelike are the monks she has pictured—St. Paphnutius, St. Ephrem, and Abraham. Evidently her experience supplied to her the means of infusing life into these. But her greatest success in this direction is *Maria* in *Abraham*. She is a girl who, after taking the vow of chastity, falls, leads a dissipated life, and is at last reclaimed by her uncle the holy hermit Abraham. No little skill is displayed by Hrotswitha in preparing her conversion. Her fall is not psychologically pictured, it is merely announced. Her wicked life is painted in the most general terms; but even during her degradation her return is prepared by her remorse and her remembrance of her former happiness. When finally Abraham, who has left his solitude in disguise, sallies forth to lead her back to God and virtue, we feel that the woman who has never become wholly a reprobate, must and will listen to the call of grace. The suddenness of her conversion in no wise amazes us.

The sketch we have given of the character of these plays, will no doubt suggest to the reader that they are rather akin to the later mediæval mysteries than to Terence, or any classical dramatist. Their disregard of the unities, their clear suggestion of narratives in dialogue, their popular character, their devout tendency, all suggest this relationship. Can it be entertained historically? Most historians of the mediæval drama date its beginnings at least a hundred years later. Still Hauck<sup>1</sup> makes it more than probable that in Italy scenic performances were known in the tenth century. Preachers, like Otto of Vercelli complain of their demoralizing effects, and they were prohibited by ecclesiastical authority. As communication between Germany and Italy in the time of the Ottos was quite frequent, we may well believe that plays of the same kind were not unknown in Germany. It is, consequently, by no means improbable that, while Hrotswitha was instigated to write her dramas by reading Terence and seeing him read by others, she followed in the handling of her themes the current dramatization of sacred subjects.

<sup>1</sup> Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, III, pp. 308-9.

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Scherr, the historian of German literature, and others after him, have inferred from Hrotsvitha's handling of the character of Maria, and one or two similar personages, that she must have seen no little of life before entering the cloister. To us this inference seems wholly unwarranted. The aberrations of Maria are data in the legend that could not be ignored. Besides, if virtue is to be pictured as triumphant, the poet must portray its struggles. This Hrotsvitha does, and she feels that when she does so even in the most guarded terms, she has yet touched on a delicate subject. But the materials of her story were provided in her sources. She neither enlarges nor dwells on the wrongdoings of her heroine, but simply puts into dialogue form the tale she found in the legends. That she should show some insight into the struggles of the sinning woman, is no proof that she was herself a sinner. A writer may strikingly portray the struggles of a murderer without having been a murderer himself. Whatever knowledge of the world is indicated in the writings of Hrotsvitha, she owed, no doubt, to the Abbess Gerberg, who had known the court of her uncle the Emperor. This is Hauck's view, and we believe that it accounts adequately for whatever worldly insight the nun of Gandersheim possessed.

A word about Hrotsvitha's historical poems and we have done. Impelled by her loyalty to what she calls her happy home, she wrote in verse the tale of the foundation and growth of St. Mary's monastery at Gandersheim. Her friendship for the Abbess Gerberg inspired her with her epic on the Saxon imperial house. She tells the story in all simplicity dwelling on the virtues of Henry and the others, without, however, touching on their warlike achievements to which, she says, a simple nun cannot do justice.

Here we must bid farewell to a most sympathetic character. Hrotsvitha is always the simple, humble, devout nun, and yet she feels that she must use for God's honor the talents He has given her. Her gratitude to her teachers, her true friendship for the Abbess Gerberg, coupled with profound respect for her as her superior, and her loyal devotion to the pious and virtuous men of the imperial family, her love of literature and philosophy, and her truly Catholic praise of science as God's truth will ever attract the scholar, especially the Catholic scholar. We therefore again warmly welcome Dr. Winterfeld's edition and recommend it to all students of mediæval literature and of literature in general.

CHARLES G. HERBERMANN.

NEW YORK CITY.

**Development of Muslem Theology, Jurisprudence, and Constitutional Theory.** By Duncan B. Macdonald. New York: Scribners, 1903. 8°, pp. 386.

If it be true, as Dr. Macdonald says, that the three antagonistic and militant civilizations of the world are Christendom, Islam, and China, this volume is one of the most useful that have lately been devoted to a philosophical intelligence of these great systems of human thought. The author is a good scholar in Arabic, which adds to the reliableness of a work whose materials are almost wholly in that tongue. He reminds us that the trichotomous division of his book is the result of necessity, adopted to avoid confusion and complication; only thus could a Western mind grasp approximately the system of Islam in which doctrine law and discipline are really one, treated by the same authors, touching one another at innumerable points, and very often unintelligible in separate treatment. "In Muslim lands Church and State are one, and until the very essence of Islam passes away that unity cannot be relaxed" (p. 4). Moreover the sketch is declared incomplete, not only because the development of Islam is not yet over, but because important phases of Muslim law theology and philosophy are passed over entirely, such as Babism, Turkish and Persian mysticism, the Darwish Fraternities and the Muslim Missions.

In the first section (pp. 7-63) a brief but luminous account is given of the domestic contests that divided Islam in the first two centuries of its existence, the rise and fall of the Ummayyads and their replacement by the Abbasids (A. D. 750), the great schism that left Islam divided into camps of Sunnite and Shiites, the transformation of the devotion to Ali into the belief in the hidden Imam, the swelter of revolts and insurrections that have never since been wanting in Islam and are now represented by those forms of "imperium in imperio" which are known as the Wahabites and the Brotherhood of Ali as-Sanusi, whose actual head is the inaccessible Mahdi of the African deserts. Every student of the early history of Islam can read with profit this description of the genesis of its government after Muhammad's death. In the second section (pp. 65-119) it is explained how Arab custom, Jewish law and the personality of the prophet are the oldest sources of Muslim law. The text of the Qur'an, the rapidly gathering traditions of the earliest days, their crystallization and the forgery of thousands of new ones, gave to the law a content and flexibility that were originally wanting. By the end of the ninth century of our era these had been logically classified by the great Moslem canonist Al-Bukhari, who selected some seven thousand

out of six hundred thousand then in circulation. Conquest brought with it responsibility for law and order in the conquered lands; hence the ubiquitous presence of Muslim lawyers. It was in these new seats of militant Islam that speculative jurisprudence arose and moulded the Muslim system, which was no product of the desert or the mind of the prophet, but rather the labor of men dealing with gigantic problems. They compelled from the conquered hard tribute, but they established a reign of law. The conquered world was for them, but on condition that order and duty were imposed upon all. Naturally the Roman Law suggested itself in the provinces of Roman culture and Christian faith. At least something of the old Roman legal practice in Syria Egypt and Africa commended itself to the Arab swordsmen of the first generations of Islam. Dr. Macdonald traces the development of Muslim law through many controversies, systems, and schools. Perhaps the most instructive paragraph is that which describes the "Agreement of the Muslim people" as the final source of all law—the conviction of Muhammad that his people would never agree in error. Positive legislation, equity, legal fiction, have done their part in Islam, says our author—"the hope for the future lies in the principle of the agreement. The common sense of the Muslim community, working through that expression of catholicity, has set aside in the past even the undoubted letter of the Qur'an, and in the future will still further break the grasp of that dead hand. It is the principle of unity in Islam" (p. 111). Elsewhere (p. 286), he expresses the belief that such future development in Islam can only come through an extension of education, an interruption of the slavery of the disciple to his master, and a biological study of the great world outside Islam, of the concrete realities of life as distinct from its dreamy infinities. *Alas, cælo supinas si tuleris manus!*

It would take us too far afield to deal in detail with the third section (pp. 119-268) of this book. Apart from the Jewish and Christian concepts in Islam, the doctrines of God and the Qur'an were the first sources of theological contest. The qualities of God, the Vision of God, the nature of the Qur'an, created or increate, were the starting point of infinite discussion. The four great Imams did not settle all doubts, and time and again the antitheses of the Mu'tazilites or liberals and the Hanbalites or conservatives, have shaken Islam to the core. The "odium theologicum" and its consequent persecutions raged wildly, although the sum of it all was little more than barren speculation and sheer hypothesis. Some highly gifted minds appear, like the Aristotelian Al-Farabi (d. A. D. 967), encyclopædist, mystic, and brightest light of the chosen band of

Fatimid leaders of Egypt in whom Dr. Macdonald inclines to see (p. 167) "a band of philosophers whose task it was to rule the human race and gradually to educate it into self-rule." Such another was Al-Ghazzali, the prince of Muslim mystics (A. D. 1078-1133), whom our author declares (p. 215) the greatest, certainly the most sympathetic figure in the history of Islam," the equal of Augustine in philosophical and theological importance, and the supreme commentator of Aristotle, who took up on all sides the life of his time, lived through all its phases, and drew his theology from his experience, after sweeping away all earlier systems, classifications and logomachies. In the Muslim West his influence was long felt by Islam, especially in North Africa where Berber nationalism during our thirteenth century found its mouthpiece and prophet in Ibn Tumart (d. A. D. 1152). His own mystico-pantheistic writings, a medley of Zahirite and Ash'arite doctrines, coupled with the claim to being the divinely sent and assisted Imam or Mahdi, secured for him and his Muwahhid dynasty a long control of Muslim thought among the Berbers. In Muslim Spain wealth and luxury brought about in the upper classes a deeper study of the Aristotelian philosophy, a spirit of compromise between its claims and those of the Qur'an, abandonment of emotional religion for the contemplations of the one Active Intellect, an effort to create an esoteric religion of obscurantism in which the thinkers of Islam might have a free hand to go their own way. Provided the bulk of the people were taught nothing but the literal sense of the Qur'an the philosopher, like Ibn-Tufayl, might revel "in the unwearying search for the one unity in the individual multiplicity around him," might lose himself in the one eternal spirit that he holds divine and in final ecstasy see face to face, either Allah upon his throne, as al-Ghazzali, or the one Active Intellect and its chain of causes as Ibn-Tufayl.

Passing over the names of Umar ibn al-Farid, the greatest poet of Arabic mysticism (d. A. D. 1260) and Ibn Khaldun (d. A. D. 1436) the greatest philosophic historian of Islam, whom Mr. Robert Flint has so sympathetically treated in the first volume of his "Philosophy of History," we come to the conditions of modern Muslim theology. Its twin poles are the ancient mysticism as represented by Abd ar-Razzaq (d. A. D. 1358) and formal traditionalism as represented by his contemporary. Ibn Taymiya (d. A. D. 1356). Against the adherents of the former, it may be said that the philosophy of the Muslim mystic has always been of a too subjective character, and leads always to sheer Plotinian pantheism, while of the traditionalists it is true that they have pandered to the stupidity and gross tastes of the illogical multitudes, and encouraged both hypocrisy and a fatal

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quietism of the reasoning powers. Mu'tazilite and Hanbalite even yet, *servatis servandis*, divide the world of Islam.

The thirteenth century saw the incorporation of religious fraternities in Islam, whose members known as darwishes and "faquirs" have always enjoyed a special reputation for the virtues of asceticism. They are hierarchically graded and governed, and have their multitudes of lay adherents, who don their dress on certain occasions. Of the same type were the reforming Wahabites of Arabia in our eighteenth century whose militant puritanical spirit has passed over into the great brotherhood founded in 1837 by Muhammad ibn Ali as-Sanusi. Its present head is his son, the Mahdi of the African oases, who has a centre of propaganda and recruitment at Mecca. That this order spells trouble for Europe is clear to Dr. Macdonald:

"Sooner or later Europe—in the first instance England in Egypt and France in Algeria—will have to face the bursting of this storm. For this Mahdi is different from him of Khartum and the southern Sudan in that he knows how to rule and wait; for years he has gathered arms and munitions and trained men for the great Jihad. When his plans are ready and his time is come, a new chapter will be opened in the history of Islam, a chapter which will cast into forgetfulness even the recent volcanic outburst in China. It will be for the Ottoman sultan of his time to show what he and his Khalifate are worth. He will have to decide whether he will throw in his lot with a Mahdi of the old Islam and the dream of a Muslim millenium, or boldly turn to new things and carry the Successorship and the People of Muhammad to join the civilized world" (p. 62).

Altogether, this conspectus of Muslim thought in all that pertains to the state, to philosophy and to the other world, is both novel and fascinating. The general reader will find it worthy of perusal after Gibbon and von Hammer, and the student of philosophy will learn from it to what an extent the thought of Greece permeated the subtly receptive mind of Arabia. The Catholic theologian will wish that the relations of Arabic Aristotelianism to the scholastic philosophy of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries had been discussed, if only briefly, on the basis of the sources, as Dr. Macdonald has done for Greek philosophy and Roman law. Perhaps a chapter on the influences of Monophysite and Nestorian thought and discipline would throw some new light on the intricate processes of Muslim intellectual life. Nevertheless, the reader will find this positive exposé of Muslim theology both instructive and suggestive, especially when he reads the seven long and valuable extracts from Muslim theologians that illustrate the creed and the discipline of Islam. A brief but scholarly

bibliography enhances the value of this publication, which is a distinct addition to the best theological books of the season.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

**Histoire des Croyances, Superstitions, Moeurs, Usages et Coutumes (Selon le Plan du Decalogue).** Par Ferdinand Nicolaÿ, avocat à la cour de Paris. 4th edition. Ouvrage couronné par l'Académie Française. Paris: V. Retaux, 1903. 3 vols., 8°, pp. 393, 548, 465.

When Le Play called the Decalogue an incomparable program of moral documents for the study of all human history, he only repeated what Leibnitz and Montesquieu had said, and what Saint Thomas had already laid down with the mathematical accuracy of a mediæval cathedral builder. In ten simple laws, that put eternally to shame the pompous and confused legislations of ethnic antiquity, the God of Israel mapped out for all time the world of morality, fixed for the mind and the heart of mankind the way that should eventually lead to truth and life in their largest and final sense. That "scrutator cordium" could alone perform the proper diagnosis of the weaknesses, evil tendencies, inherited dispositions, temptations, and common follies of a humanity that had become thus darkened in mind and enfeebled in will precisely by reason of its violation of His original behest. A truly ethical history of humanity could therefore find no better framework for the arrangement of its countless details than the Ten Commandments. This is what M. Nicolaÿ has undertaken in the three bulky volumes before us. That his enterprise has met with more than ordinary approval is clear from the fact that the voluminous work has reached a fourth edition. In ten books are disposed with order brevity and eloquence thousands of observations concerning the races nations and states of mankind from prehistoric times down to the present day, observations drawn from many sources concerning the follies and vagaries of humanity in all that pertains to the moral order. Each book corresponds to one of the divine commandments, and its pages are replete with facts that illustrate the growing imperfection and final degradation of all those peoples and nations who refused to serve the true God and made to themselves gods of earth, and even worse. In the first book are dealt with phenomena of naturism, animism and fetichism, the concepts of prayer and adoration among non-Christian peoples ancient and modern, the touching antiquities of Christian prayer and the helpless attempts of modern philosophic religions to satisfy these primary needs of the

human heart. Then follows a chapter on superstition, whose horrid details defy classification. Only when one has read it over carefully can he appreciate the intensity of the anti-idolatrous temperament of the primitive Christian peoples. They lived when idolatry was a social force, the living source of all popular morality, the established throne of Satan among men.

In the second book our author passes in review the historical antiquities of the oath, both among Gentiles and Christians, likewise all that concerns vows and blasphemy. It is pleasing to note that from the drag-net of an universal erudition he has extracted curious historical data that go to show how the oldest oath known to humankind is the Celtic oath by the seven elements. He might have added that it lived on in Ireland until a comparatively recent time. In the third book we come across a valuable commentary on Christian heortology—an account of popular feasts and religious celebrations before and after the Christian era. Here are described many mediaeval extravaganzas, likewise the “antiquities” of Christmas, the Sunday and the other Christian days, official and popular. It is a kind of “*Medii Aevi Kalendarium*” that to some will be the most charming chapter in a charming book. The fourth book deals with ancestor-worship in prehistoric and in historic times, a chapter being devoted to Europe and Asia and another to Africa, America and Oceanica, likewise an appendix on the simian theory of the origin of man. In the fifth book the destruction of human life forms the theme of M. Nicolaÿ’s researches. Homicide, murder, capital punishment, infanticide, suicide, human sacrifices, suttees, cannibalism—all the forms, legal and illegal, by which the individual life issues with violence, are here commented on from the bleeding annals of our history. In the sixth book the history of luxury is told. Intemperance in food and drink, the love of the spectacular and the emotional, usual sources of concupiscence, are illustrated by many anecdotes that give an air of “*actualité*” to these pages. The passions aroused by “*meum and tuum*,” those horrid words, as St. John Chrysostom says, come before us in the seventh book. The author deals here with the antiquities of property, its emblems and symbols, with bizarre and curious imposts, *corvées*, and dues, and with memorable facts in the history of private property. The “antiquities” of thieving and of such small popular extortions as the “*pourboire*” in its countless forms, are, of course, very entertaining. Perjury, false witness, forced avowals, the torture, are the subject-matter of the eighth book. Here the reader will find many interesting data on the “Judgment of God,” on ordeals and judicial duels. Indeed, this work becomes often a very

useful commentary on general mediæval history. After the same manner, the history of human marriage is related in the ninth book, with many an edifying and many a disedifying page. Nevertheless, the chapter is one of a highly moral import, and the author would have it read by every maiden. In the tenth book M. Nicolaÿ exhibits a summary history of robbery, by sea and by land, especially the corporate robbery of brigands, pirates and filibusters. A sad chapter on slavery and slave-trade, and on the "razzias" in Africa, closes the book.

It is, indeed, too often a harrowing story of human wickedness and stupidity that we are reading, and a certain "tædium" comes over us as we turn the pages of these annals of shame and impiety. Yet they are human documents with a vengeance of the kind that once Tertullian and Arnobius were personally acquainted with, and that once in Modin moved mightily a Matathias to protest on his life against such dishonor of the Creator. The historian will easily agree with M. Nicolaÿ when he says in the preface (p. iv) that a deep satisfaction settles on the mind when, after a patient and sustained analysis, the suggestive allusion becomes clear in the emblems and symbols of the non-civilized man, or when these "shapes of shut significance," old myths and legends, shine before the eye of the spirit, or when science and observation enable us to group certain débris and trace certain puzzling formulæ, to align and unite them, to let in air through the mysterious labyrinth of facts, and light amid obscure texts, to lay open the most intimate sentiments of humanity; in a word, to cause to live again and to bear witness before the tribunal of history those who were once the contemporaries of these facts and these texts.

The method of M. Nicolaÿ is a strictly scientific one. He proceeds habitually "de notis ad ignota," and mingles judiciously the pre-Christian and the post-Christian elements of religious life among the non-Christian peoples. The authors of antiquity are used with moderation, when occasion offers. His erudition is "de bon aloi," and his narrative clear, succinct and always entertaining. Judgments and reflections abound throughout these three volumes, that aim always at being philosophical and helpful to humankind by showing the universal causal nexus of the great divine laws of morality as well as the testimony of all mankind to their rôle and supreme sufficiency. The foot-notes of these chapters show that the authorities of M. Nicolaÿ are always of the first order, modern and reliable. Thus in the first book, the reports and letters of missionaries are controlled by the travels of laymen and scholars, while the academic

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studies of ethnologists like Tylor, Lang, Quatrefages and others are supported by the most modern historians of peoples and nations, by periodical publications of learned societies, by the publications of collections and museums destined to illustrate the idea of God among all peoples, especially extant races of savages and semi-barbarians.

Here and there a blemish appears. Thus (I. 217) the territory of Utah has long been a state. The work of Mr. Linn (see *BULLETIN*, viii, 402) is henceforth to be consulted in all that pertains to the political history of Mormonism. What M. Nicolay says (II. 305-306) about electrocution in the state of New York needs to be modified in the light of the latest results covering several years. The pages of each volume ought to bear the indication of the current chapter. This is all the more necessary since there is no "Index rerum," an intolerable omission in a very large book that abounds in details, and which is obliged to touch more than once on the same or similar subjects.

This is eminently a book for preachers, an eloquent and reliable historical commentary on the Ten Commandments. For whoever knows how to use the lessons of history in speaking to modern peoples, trained and fed on the historical method, this book can easily become a vade-mecum. Moreover, it is unique of its kind, and we may well believe the fact that it has cost the author a great many years of difficult and manifold research. The letter of warm approval remitted to him by Leo XIII. was therefore a well-merited one, and makes the work as desirable in cultivated families of Catholic faith as the approval of the French Academy vouches for its sound historical method and elegant literary form.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

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**Reallexicon der Indogermanischen Altertumskunde.** Grundzüge einer Kultur- und Völkergeschichte Alteuropas. Von O. Schrader. Strassburg: Teubner, 1901. Pp. xl and 1,048.

The novelty of the work—it is the first Dictionary of Indo-European antiquities—and the impossibility of discussing in detail the merits of its execution in the space at my disposal, have led to the conviction that the interests of the readers of the *BULLETIN* will be best served by a general description of the plan of the work and a summary of the methodological questions handled in its preface. This conclusion is strengthened by the fact that upon the answer to these questions depends the very existence of the method to which the rather high-sounding title *Linguistic Palæontology* has been given, so that their discussion is of more than usual importance at the present when there is a strong tendency to deny, on account of alleged defects

of method, the whole value of these attempts to infer from the vocabulary of the reconstructed Indo-European language the state of civilization of its speakers.

The purpose of the work is a double one of gaining on the one hand a clearer idea of Indo-European antiquity and of using this knowledge to explain the development of early European civilization. Accordingly, the author takes for his basis the early civilization of Europe as presented in the monuments of its history, and seeks to determine what elements in this civilization are inheritances from the Indo-European period, what are later acquisitions. In the choice of subjects to be treated, the general principle has been to include all elements that appear in the civilization of Europe before its conversion to Christianity and are not confined to a single nation. At this point may be emphasized as one of the merits of the book, the broad spirit in which the author interprets the term civilization. As an indication, may be cited the regret which he feels at the absence, on account of the lack of the necessary preliminary works, of articles on the different ethical concepts, cf. s. v. Keuschheit. The wish of Fr. Nietzsche, quoted from his *Genealogie der Moral*, Leipzig, 1895, p. 338, may be especially recommended to members of this University as indicating a fruitful and congenial field that is lying fallow "dass nämlich irgend eine philosophische Fakultät sich durch eine Reihe akademischer Preisausschreibungen um die Förderung *moralhistorischer Studien* verdient machen möge. . . . In Hinsicht auf eine Möglichkeit dieser Art sei die nachstehende Frage in Vorschlag gebracht: sie verdient ebenso die Aufmerksamkeit der Philologen und Historiker als die der eigentlichen Philosophie-Gelehrten von Beruf: 'Welche *Fingerzeige* giebt die Sprachwissenschaft, insbesondere die *etymologische Forschung*, für die *Entwicklungsgeschichte der moralischen Begriffe* ab.'"

The material thus offered is analyzed as far as possible into its constituent elements, which give the headings for the separate articles. To contrast the resulting tendency towards separation, related articles are brought together under a more general rubric, the result being a number of more readable articles. That this method of arrangement, which is inherent in the nature of a lexicon, has certain disadvantages, cannot be denied. But it is to be noted that the author has reduced them to a minimum both by not carrying the principle of analysis to an excess and by a liberal system of cross references; and that on account of the methodological difficulties, the form of a lexicon is in spite of, or rather because of, these disadvantages especially adapted to the subject.

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As was to be expected from the author of "Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte" the method followed in determining what is and what is not Indo-European, is a union of the study of language and the study of Realien. As has already been indicated the value of the results of the study of language for this purpose has recently been denied, and so the author finds it necessary to criticize, at some length, the views of Koetschmer ("Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache") and Kossina (*Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*, vi, 1, ff.).

Their objections to Linguistic Palæontology are based upon certain undeniable defects in our knowledge of the Indo-European language. Koetschmer's argument may be summarized as follows: our reconstruction of a word of the parent language carries us back not to a period of absolute unity, but merely to a period of closer geographical relationship and freer linguistic communication. This does not, however, exclude quite considerable variations in language and divergences in civilization. Behind this must lie a period in which the territory occupied by the Indo-Europeans must have been considerably smaller, and their language and civilization essentially uniform. Only the phenomena of this earliest period are primitive "*urindogermanisch*"—only such words as have a common ancestor of that period are originally related—*urverwandt*. Now, at any time during the second of these periods, a word may have originated at any point and spread, by borrowing from dialect to dialect, over a part, or over the whole of the Indo-European territory. Such words are prehistoric loan words, in principle on a par with the loan words of historic times. They may be common to all branches of the Indo-European family—*gemein indogermanisch*—and yet not primitive—*urindogermanisch*.

Now Comparative Grammar has no criterion for distinguishing between these two classes of words, and consequently we can never say of a reconstructed word whether it belongs to the first or the second of these periods. Furthermore, if—as is always possible—it belongs to the later period, it is not necessary for it to have occurred in all varieties of the Indo-European speech of that period. Its presence or its absence may have been a mark of dialectic difference. Consequently, when we have an etymological series that extends to only certain branches of the family—those that extend to all are exceedingly rare—we have no right to generalize and assume that because the word was prehistoric, it existed in all the branches of the family, and was afterwards supplanted in some by other words.

From this it follows that the sum of all such possible reconstructions is not the Indo-European language in the sense of being the

essentially uniform language of the earliest period, nor yet does it represent an essentially uniform dialect of any portion of the Indo-European territory at any time within the second period. It is on the contrary a conglomerate of words of different eras and of different localities. In this respect it is comparable with a list containing Greek words—in unknown proportions, and without marks of designation—dating from every period from Homer to the Christian era, and coming from every canton in Greece. It is clear that in the absence of further knowledge the attempt to form even the simplest sentence might result in the juxtaposition of the most incongruous elements.

Furthermore, the fact that a word does not occur in our list of reconstructions, may be due simply to a gap in our knowledge—we have never the right to assert that its absence in prehistoric times is proven.

These defects, it is claimed, are such as to vitiate all attempts to infer from this reconstructed language the civilization of its speakers, and in future, we must look not to Linguistic Palæontology but to Prehistoric Archæology for the solution of the problems of Indo-European civilization.

This conclusion is, however, much wider than its premises, it is the position of those who will take no bread unless they can have the whole loaf. It may be conceded that we cannot reconstruct the essentially uniform civilization of the earliest periods nor can we reconstruct a picture of the civilization that existed in any homogeneous part of the Indo-European territory at any time during the second of these periods. We cannot describe the way in which this civilization developed, the chronological order in which the different elements of civilization appeared, nor the geographical range of each phenomenon. All this we should like to know, but because we do not know it, it does not follow that we know nothing, or that what we do know is of no value.

On the contrary, if we consider the main purpose for which we attempt these reconstructions, we will see that it is not essentially affected by these limitations of our knowledge. We no longer reconstruct the parent language to use it for the expression of thought, nor do we infer from it the civilization of its speakers in order that some novelist may be enabled to lay the scene of his romance in prehistoric times. But we value these reconstructions as the basis—the only available basis—for the understanding of the historical phenomena. That formerly other views were in vogue when men were not fully aware of the complicated nature of the problem—when Schleicher was composing fables in the parent language, and the reconstruction

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of Indo-European civilization was being undertaken in the same spirit, is true. It is also true that these difficulties are pitfalls in the path of the investigator who loses sight of them.

Hence, it is one of the merits of Koetschmer's brilliant work to have set forth with such clearness the dangers inherent in this method of investigation. But we must be on our guard against hastily inferring that because we cannot learn all we can learn nothing, and of abandoning the road because it is beset with dangers and difficulties.

Of these limitations of our knowledge, Schrader is fully aware. I have noted but one passage, p. xxxvi, "*und—wenigstens in der Theorie—wird die Zusammensetzung der in solchen allgemeineren Artikeln erzielten Ergebnisse ein einheitliches Bild der indogermanischen Urzeit ergeben*"—in which he claims too much historical reality for his reconstructions, and even this is essentially modified by the sentences that follow. It must be noted also, a matter to which I have already alluded, that the plan of a Lexicon, with its consequent analysis of civilization into its elements, serves of itself to obviate the most important of these difficulties. Since each element is treated separately, we are saved from the addition of chronologically incongruous elements, and the citation under each article of the etymological material on which the treatment is based shows exactly the attested geographical range of the phenomenon in question. We can make an Indo-European dictionary, though we cannot compose a sentence in the language. Similarly, we cannot gain a picture of a single stage of Indo-European civilization, but we can value and employ a lexicon of their ambiguities.

To outline Schrader's discussion of these arguments separately, the distinction between related and prehistoric loan words is not of importance for this purpose. It is conceded that the etymological correspondences were established in prehistoric times, i. e. before the Indo-Europeans reached the abodes in which history first knows them (I should prefer to say before the recurrence of certain phonetic changes which constitute the most characteristic features of the individual language), and that is the point on which the question turns. It might have been added that the deepening of our knowledge promised by Koetschmer from the consideration of these words can come only when we are able to designate the point at which the word started and the direction and the manner of the borrowing, problems for the solution of which Comparative Grammar at present affords no prospect.

The danger of the addition of elements of different chronological periods is real, but does not affect our knowledge of those elements, nor

must it be held to exclude in practice such combinations as are helps, comparable with reconstructed paradigms—to our understanding of these problems.

That we have no right to generalize an etymology is true, but when we say that a phenomenon is Indo-European, we do not mean more than that it is known to a greater or less extent within the Indo-European territory. An etymology that extends to only five branches, provided they have not an especial relationship like Indic and Iranian, or the Baltic and Slavic, and have not been in especially close contact, like the Germans and the Slavs, or the Germans and the Kelts, is sufficient to establish this. Reactions are always exposed to the danger of going too far, and the realization that we have no right to generalize an etymology has given rise to a tendency to explain all partial etymologies as dialectic differences. It would have been well to emphasize the fact that this need not be the case, and that the assertion of a lexical dialectic difference, and these are almost the only ones we know, rests always on the much decried *argumentum ex silentio*.

Very interesting is the claim made by Schrader, that a number of partial etymologies for the same idea taken together, are the equivalent of an etymological series extending to all branches of the family. No explanation of this phenomenon is given but I believe that it can be found in the following considerations. Languages, in their earlier stages of development, frequently show a surprising number of synonyms; examples are cited by Jespersen in "Progress in Language with Especial Reference to English." That the parent language should be richer in this respect, as well as in its sounds and forms, than any of its offspring, is not surprising. The later abandonment of this superfluous wealth would lead to the state of affairs found e. g. in the case of the word for "goat," when one word is found Sanskrit, Lithuanian and perhaps in Celtic, with derivatives from it in Slavic, a second in Armenian and Greek with derivatives in Avestan, a third in Latin and German, and a fourth in German, Slavic and Albanian.

With regard to the *argumentum ex silentio*, Schrader's position is that it is always worth while to seek for the cause of this absence of etymological correspondence for an idea that might be expected to appear in the Indo-European vocabulary. Distinction must be made between the absence of a single word and a whole class of names. Sometimes the obviously late formation of words in the separate languages will serve to indicate the novelty at a later period of the idea.

The real difficulty of this method Schrader finds in the difficulty of determining the meaning of a prehistoric word. Here help is to be

obtained sometimes from further considerations, e. g. from the Indo-European word for horse, we cannot tell whether or not the animal was domesticated. But the fact that there is also an Indo-European word for foal decides the question. Sometimes we must be content with a more careful framing of our conclusions. Sanskrit *āyas*, Latin *aes*, Gothic *aiz*, prove at least that one useful metal was known in Indo-European times.

Another way in which the study of language is of value for the study of the history of civilization is the consideration of the way in which names are given to new concepts, because the name generally indicates an element which seems to the speaker especially characteristic and hence allows us to better understand the circumstances under which the concept was formed. Isolated observations of this class are frequent, but it is only in the study of Indo-European antiquities that they can be gathered and employed so as to yield a fruitful knowledge.

So much for what we can learn from the study of language. It must be supplemented by the study of things. Of the sciences to which we can look for help, prehistoric archæology is the first mentioned. Schrader recognizes fully its services in giving color to our linguistic reconstructions. But deserving of especial attention is his pointing out of the defects inherent in its nature that prevent it from ever assuming the leading rôle in these investigations. It can teach us only of the material, never of the intellectual or moral side of civilization, and furthermore, it is of itself and especially in the oldest periods, without any ethnic relations and hence without any real historical interest. It gains such relationship only from the fact that the neolithic civilization of Europe as reconstructed by it coincides to such an extent with the civilization of the Indo-Europeans as reconstructed from their language, that we reach the double conclusion that the prehistoric connection of the Indo-Europeans was in the neolithic period, and that the great portion of neolithic Europe was peopled with Indo-Europeans.

For the employment to be made of botanical and zoological palæontology in combination with linguistic investigations, the author refers to his revision, with the coöperation of Professor A. Engler, director of the Berlin Botanical Gardens, of Victor Hehn's *Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere*, and calls attention to the portions of the field that are still uncultivated. Anthropology has in his eyes only a secondary value.

A third method is the comparison of the *Realien* and institutions, as they exist, or as they are historically attested for the different

European peoples. In this the author emphasizes, in accord with Victor Hehn and against Leist the relatively greater importance of the institutions of the Germans, Lithuanians and especially of the Slavs, for the reconstruction of the Indo-European civilization. Towards Comparative Ethnology, however, his position is one of mistrust, though he does not deny that it may be able to throw light upon the explanation of such institutions as can be proved by other means to be Indo-European.

Such are the plan and methods of the work. That the author has established the validity of these methods must certainly be admitted. Of the results of his work, I have no space to speak, but they may be summed up as the coincidence of Indo-European civilization with the neolithic civilization of Europe, a thesis that is not novel, as it had already been presented in the author's "*Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte*" but that has gained much in its second presentation. In general the etymological basis of the work is sound, in keeping with the present state of Comparative Grammar, and this in spite of the temptation that is always present in such work to press too far suggestive combinations.

In this respect, it has gained much from the attention that the author pays to the possible changes with the meanings of words, which is in accord with the importance attached to semantological questions in the preface.

The work will undoubtedly prove an indispensable part of the equipment of every student of Comparative Grammar and of Indo-European antiquities, and cannot, in fact, be neglected by any student of the antiquities of any European nation. Besides these, it will appeal to a large class whose interest in these questions is of a more general nature. To bring the results of scientific work before a wider audience is of importance, as it is upon their support that science must depend, and for the purpose of awakening a wider interest in such work it is to be hoped that this lexicon will soon be translated into English. It embodies the work that has hitherto been done upon the subject, and at the same time affords a stimulus and a starting point for further investigations. So that it might properly—had not the term been cheapened by much abuse—be styled epoch-making.

GEORGE MELVILLE BOLLING.

L'Ame B

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**L'Ame Bretonne.** Par Charles Le Goffic. Paris: H. Champion, 1902. 8°, pp. 392.

It must be the cruel sharp intense materialism of the last century, natural outcome of an epoch of invention and discovery, that has called forth, among other refuges for the spiritually minded, a renaissance of the vague and melancholy idealism of the old Keltic life. Latin, Teuton, and Anglo-Saxon have, in different degrees and at different times, exercised a severe tyranny on the native Keltic soul. Yet they could neither destroy it, nor annihilate it, nor quite eliminate it, even from the political and social equation. It is something so ancient, so subtle, so saturated with prehistoric experience, so buoyant and self-helpful, so rich in memories and fancies of the borderland of the spirit and matter, so conscious at all times of the other-worldly phases of human life, so easily projective of self beyond the caging limits of fact and reality, that it is endowed with a practical immortality among the great influences that fashion mankind. Since the eleventh-century Jongleurs of Normandy stole out of Wales and Ireland the material for their great vernacular stories of Arthur and his Round Table, there has been no such flood of literary Keltism as we have witnessed in the present generation. Nor is it wonderful that it should have been loosened in England by those solemn prophets of modern literature—Matthew Arnold and William Morris. For the constitutive elements of pure literature we must forever look to the Kelt, not indeed as the architectonic combining mind, but as the inexhaustible quarry, the source of inspiration, the bard-like leader or *vates* whose distant song forever draws after him all listening humanity. D'Arbois de Jubainville has shown the close identity of the Homeric materials and those of the oldest Keltic cycles. Indeed, who can read Lady Gregory's "Cuchulain of Muirthemne" or, better still, Eleanor Hull's "Cuchullin Saga" without feeling that he is listening to just such primitive strains of Aryan music as once charmed the dwellers on steep Chios? Stopford Brooke has proven conclusively the Keltic origin of the earliest English poetry, and Powell and Vigfusson have done as much for the Saga literature of the Northland. Radium-like, the Keltic spirit shines forever with intensity as the oldest idealistic element and force in our Western humanity.

Ethnographically, however, the Kelt has been reduced to an island in the Atlantic and to a rocky peninsula on the mainland of North-western Europe. His origins in the former are lost, not in the twilight but in the solid night of history. If any traces of them still exist, they can be read only by the gifted few and through rare and delicate

media of combination and intuition. Not so with the history of Brittany. Brittany the island made Brittany the mainland in historic times. The countless *lanns* and *plous* of the latter are the original semi-religious colonies created between 450 and 550 by an endless stream of Kelts from Britain, flying before the strong and resolute pirates of the Weser and the Elbe. Ireland sent indeed, her missionaries—where did they not go? The dear old hagiographer and folklorist of Brittany, the Dominican Albert Le Grand, tells us naïvely in his seventeenth-century tongue that “ce sont les moines irois qui ont versé l’eau du baptême sur la tête des Armoricaïns.” But it is from the island of Britain, then peopled by Kelts, that the peninsula of Brittany was first peopled and civilized in a Christian sense. But slowly. One has only to read the old but fascinating history of Brittany by Dom Lobineau, with the new and still more fascinating history by the late Arthur de la Borderie to learn that in this deeply religious land the way to Christian life and conviction lay through an era of violence treachery and impiety. For a long time, neither nobles nor clergy nor people have much to boast of as followers of the Nazarene. Abelard’s account of the monks of Saint Gildas de Rhuys, as now accessible in the brilliant paraphrase of Marius Sepet, may not be typical, but it is suggestive. Only slowly did the land come under the strong hand of the French kings. A Duke of Brittany was, until quite modern times, an unruly feudatory of the Crown. And yet in time the rude independence of its chiefs its churches and its people was modified. The Breton was merged politically into the contiguous France. Not so, however, that when his traditional institutions were touched with hostile intent, he would not rise in fierce and stubborn defence of them. His religion imports much tenderness and emotion. It is rooted in a local patriotism, the “amour de la petite patrie” and nourished by intimate domestic affections, and a sacrosanct veneration of the past as it yet lives in numberless monuments, not the least of which is his speech, principal chronicle of his history and truthful exponent of his thoughts.

M. Le Goffic has chosen to write of this “Bretagne bretonnante” the land of Breton speech and customs, with its bards, its “pardons” or pilgrimages, its countless local saints, its costumes and social ways. The gist of the book is in the chapter entitled “Au Coeur de la Race” a really novel and entrancing sketch or *croquis*. Only one of the race, one kin to Villemarqué, Le Braz and Brizeux, to Albert le Grand and Emile Souvestre could write with such emotion and picturesqueness, could describe so vividly the infinitely various ways of

Brittany, that land of "a hundred districts, a hundred churches, a hundred parishes, a hundred customs"

Kant brô, kant iliz,  
Kant parrez, kant kiz.

The chapter on the "Curé Breton" is exquisite—"il faut le prendre dans son milieu de culture, à l'air libre, parmi les laboureurs et les matelots. Il est du peuple, pour le peuple. On le voit bien à sa charpente, à ses mains larges, à cette tête dure où languissent des yeux de rêve, les beaux yeux tristes et fins de sa race."

Exquisite also is the silhouette of Narcisse Quellien, the Breton bard of the Paris boulevards, a "primitif" who had to die beneath the wheels of an automobile driven by an Agamemnon Schliemann! The pages of M. Le Goffic are brilliant with the names of modern men of Brittany who have illustrated French letters, from Châteaubriand to Renan. It is a kind of Keltic encyclopaedia in which are enshrined hap-hazard the names of many Bretons who have arrested the world's attention and caused the "little fatherland" to be forever glorified in the busy haunts of men. Some sad truths are woven into the story—the growth of intemperance and the loss of Catholic faith by emigration. "L'Ame bretonne" is a very instructive book for those who would study seriously the Keltic "Wesen" in its own surroundings, apart from the stranger and the present, without alloy or admixture of any kind. It is enough to say of it that it need not fear to be coupled with the incomparable elegy of Renan on "La Poésie des Races Celtiques," perhaps the most spiritual note that ever escaped from the soul of that gifted chief of Agnosticism.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

**Portraits of Julius Caesar.** By Frank J. Scott. New York. Longmans, 1903. 8°, pp. 182. (Illustrated.)

The classical treatise on the statues and busts of the Roman Emperors has long been the "Roemische Ikonographie" of Professor Bernouilli. Mr. Frank J. Scott has now made a notable addition to the representations of Julius Caesar that were known to Bernouilli, and his book will henceforth deserve a place in any catalogue of works dealing with the imperial sculptures of the best period of Roman art. The treatment of the subject is somewhat brusque and unconventional. There is no attempt at any literary history of the theme, outside of a reference to Bernouilli. And yet the author's own experience, as related by himself, demonstrates the utility of pursuing serious bibliographical researches before entering on the study of a

given subject. Mr. Scott, it must be said, declares (p. 83) that his intention was merely to illustrate pictorially and to discuss those statues and busts of Caesar that were subject to his examination. For this reason he spent several years in travel and investigation, visited all museums and collections where possible representations of Caesar existed, and devoted much time and thought to the material that he secured—many of the busts of Caesar were reproduced for him in plaster casts. Altogether, his researches appear to have been thorough and very exhaustive. It is not too much to say that all future students will want to consult his work. In it he has brought critical talent and a sculptor's technical training to bear on the subject-matter, with the result that a definite idea of the appearance of Caesar can now be had from a conspectus of many representations in marble, as well as from the portraits made by historians. The keen intellectual eyes, the large firm mouth, the high broad forehead, the long large head, are vouched for by the best of the marbles, and Mr. Scott finds in most of them the proof of his habitual kindliness of disposition and his dominant force of will. None of them justify the angry words of Cassius

"What trash is Rome,  
What rubbish and what offal, when it serves  
For the base matter to illuminate  
So vile a thing as Caesar!"

On the contrary, the Chiaramonti, the Pisa, and the British Museum busts do not belie the eloquent grief of Antony, when he declared that Rome was looking on

"the ruins of the noblest man  
That ever lived in the tide of times."

The long digression on the life of Julius Caesar appears to us a "hors d'oeuvre" in such a book—the space might well have been given to a discussion of old and new literary portraits of the "foremost man of all the world." There are a number of disagreeable misprints—Délatre (p. 177) for Delattre, Piambino (p. 97) for Piombino, Ludovisi (p. 98 and often) for Ludovisi, Medinacelli (p. 161) for Medina Coeli. When he states (p. 66) that the Roman hierarchy deliberately destroyed the statues of the emperors, he errs grievously. The studies of Lanciani in his "Destruction of Pagan Rome," of Allard in his "Art Païen sous les Empereurs Chrétiens," of Grisar in his "History of Christian Rome," and of Venturi in his "History of Italian Art," have placed the responsibility where it belongs—none of them blame

the Christian episcopate as solidary for such acts of vandalism. It was the wholesale pillaging of barbarian leaders like Geiserich that first caused the destruction of such masterpieces—even then a multitude remained. It is said that over sixty thousand statues have been recovered from the soil of Rome and the neighborhood. Gibbon himself says of the Bishops of Rome (c. 71) that there is no case known of vandalism encouraged by them. For long centuries the marble *Caesareum* of the *Fratres Arvales* existed at Rome close to the Cemetery of *Generosa*, intact in its inscriptions and marbles. As late as the sixteenth century statues of Roman emperors yet graced its niches dressed in the sacrificial costume of the *Arval Brethren*! The Spanish Christian poet *Prudentius*, writing at the full noon of Christian triumph, gives vent to his admiration for the art of Rome:

Marmora tabenti respergine tincta lavate.  
 O proceres, liceat statuas consistere puras,  
 Artificum magnorum opera: haec pulcherrima nostrae  
 Ornamenta cluant patriae: nec decolor usus  
 In vitium vrsae monimenta coinquet artis.

As late as the first half of the sixth century, the Roman *Cassiodorus*, the Christian premier of *Theodoric*, drew up an eloquent formula in his "*Variae*" for the office of "*Curator Statuarum*." Multitudes of statues perished, it is true, but their worst enemies were not the Christian bishops, rather the barbarian despoiler of their rich ornaments, inexorable time and neglect, economic disaster, the peasant's limekiln, and the politico-social vicissitudes of the West since the death of *Chlodwig*, of the Orient since the death of *Herakleios*.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

**As Others Saw Him, a Retrospect, A. D. 54**, with introduction, afterwords, and notes by *Joseph Jacobs*, New York. Funk and Wagnalls, 1903. 8°, pp. 230.

This work, that first appeared in 1895, offers itself as an irenicon to display to Jews the essential Jewishness of Jesus, and to explain to Christians how the leaders of the Jewish nations helped to put him to death. The standpoint is the extreme rationalistic and subjective—only by accepting the attitude of modern Jewish rationalism can there be any reconciliation of the antitheses between believing Christians and Jews. Indeed, the work is declared by the author to be "an anti-gospel" putting honestly sincerely and without reserve all that can be said against what the writer holds to be the exaggerated claims of Jesus or his friends. The story of the life of Jesus is told

in the shape of a lengthy epistle from Meshullam ben Zadok, a scribe of the Jews at Alexandria to Aglaophanos, physician of the Greeks at Corinth. Mr. Jacobs arranges arbitrarily in two sermons much of the extra-canonical sayings attributed at an early date to Jesus. To these scattered sayings recovered by many curious processes from the first three centuries of Christianity, and to the text of the "Duæ Viae" Mr. Jacobs attributes a value "nearly as great as that of the gospels." The Talmud seems to be an authority only slightly inferior. Then from certain "outlying purloins of theological literature" he collects other original materials. The whole is set forth in a style of pleasing archaism, and with a running archaeological comment. Through the narrative the cruelty of the Jews is minimized, the failure of Jesus to convert the Sadduces and Pharisees attributed to his evasive and dubious answers to their innocent questions, and His death on the cross is said to be the result of His "sullen and arrogant silence" before the tribunal of Caiaphas. The crown of thorns becomes (p. 197) a faded rose-wreath plucked from the head of some belated reveller, the Good Samaritan (p. 83) is no Samaritan but an Israelite, the demons driven out of the possessed by Jesus were (p. 34) spiritual demons of evil passions. So, by the exercise of a fantastic individualism, the gospel narrative is robbed of all its immemorial claims to truth and, under the pretence of popularizing the vagaries of a highly subjective criticism, the vision of a prejudiced mind is offered us for the correct portrait of Jesus as the Christian world has always cherished it. Could we stand by Marcion as he composed his evangel with a "machæra" or watch the process of Philostratus in constructing his "Life" of Apollonius of Tyana, we should be convinced that the morality of certain phases of modern literary criticism was quite like that of these ancient opponents of the true Christian tradition concerning the divine Founder of the religion. On the treatment of the original Christian scripture-texts there are some pertinent pages in Carl Schmidt's "Stellung Plotins zum Christenthum"—when we have read them we no longer wonder at the Christian horror and detestation for the writings of a Porphyry.

Mr. Jacobs is best known in the world of scholarship as a folklorist and an editor of fairy tales. This may account for his failure to recognize the broad gulf between the genuine traditions concerning Jesus and the "profane and vain babblings" that St. Paul denounced (I. Tim. VI, 20; I, 4) and whose echoes are heard in the "Agrapha" and heretical gospels, in spite of the abundant orthodox re-editing that they have undergone.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

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**Life and Letters in the Fourth Century.** By Terrot Reaveley Glover. Cambridge University Press. New York: Macmillan, 1901. 8°, pp. 398.

Professor Glover offers us in this very readable volume a sympathetic and scholarly study of many problems of civilization in the fourth century. His method is not a series of generalizations, but a group of portraits each of which he places in its actual environment, literary religious and political. Thus Paganism comes in for a satisfactory presentation apropos of Ammianus Marcellinus, Julian, Ansonius, Macrobius, Symmachus and Claudian; Christianity is dealt with in chapters on Saint Augustine's Confessions, Prudentius, Sulpicius Severus and Synesius. A chapter of Women Pilgrims permits the telling of the content of the "Peregrinatio" of Sylvia of Aquitaine (or must we now call her Etheria of Spain?), and another on "Greek and Early Christian Novels" reveals a literary side of the old imperial life little appreciated. In "Quintus of Smyrna" we may see how living and personal a force Homer yet was in educational circles, and in "Palladas" there is resurrected an Alexandrine prototype of Omar Khayyam, just such another *versificator insulsiissimus*, with his budget of "quips and cranks and wanton wiles," his flouting jibes and sneers at life, literature, Providence, Chance, and Destiny. Each chapter of this book is a little mine of special information, for Professor Glover has embodied in each the best results of much modern research. To the erudition of the inexhaustible Gibbon is added that of Boissier, Hodgkin and Bury, not to speak of other conscientious writers. The reader will rise from the perusal of this work filled with what the writer justly calls the "pathos and power" of the fourth century. Read in connection with Dill's "Roman Society in the last century of the Western Empire," Seecks "Untergang der antiken Welt," and Boissier's "Fin du Paganisme," it will fix in the student's mind some true outlines of a period when civic grandeur and local misery were contemporary, when life was really mirrored in letters, and yet letters curiously affected to ignore the crowding signs and warnings of disaster that were threatening the ship of state.

Here and there are blemishes. The insinuation (p. 289) against Lourdes and St. Anne de Beaupré is gratuitous. There is no truth, as Ladeuze and Dom Butler have shown, likewise Volter, in the theory of the origin of Egyptian monasticism from the so-called monks of Serapis. The author's judgment on the philosophy of monasticism (p. 302) is without foundation. And it is not true as stated (p. 279) that "Antony and Paul are nowadays dismissed very properly from

history to the realm of fiction." To call (p. 114) the successor of Julian the "wretched Jovian" is an injustice. Dr. Bright tells us (Age of the Fathers, I. 340) that our Christian authorities dwell fondly on his piety and gentleness, and that he disapproves of the parallel made by Gwatkin between Jovian and the debauched Michael the Drunkard. Dr. Glover does not properly describe (p. 9) the so-called "Chair of Peter" at Rome, as he would learn by reading the admirable monograph of De Rossi, or the summary of it in Northcote and Brownlow. The curious reference (p. 4) to the United States as holding a "bad repute for lawlessness and want of taste" will be forgiven as emanating from a prejudiced quarter.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

**The Age of the Fathers**, being chapters in the history of the Church during the fourth and fifth centuries. By the late William Bright, D.D. New York: Longmans, 1903. 2 vols., 8°, pp. 543, 597.

There is needed no excuse for devoting eleven hundred and forty pages to the story of the "sæculum mirabile" that begins with Constantine the Great and ends with the Council of Chalcedon. The Duc de Broglie took six volumes to tell the events of those historic decades. Every historian of the period, general and special, feels that here the theme enlarges, the actors are filled with new purpose and spirit, the scope of human energy and the stake of life take on new aspects. Professor Bright is neither a new-comer nor a weakling in this arduous but grandiose section of Church History. He taught that science for many years in the University of Oxford, and devoted himself, with almost no exception, to the period before us. He dealt leisurely with the sources, amid all the bibliographical resources of the great English school, surrounded, too, by congenial and scholarly companions in the same department of learning. We are not surprised therefore, at these stately volumes, in which the public history of Catholicism is told from the accession of the first Christian Emperor to the death of Theodosius.

Nothing of importance is omitted, the chronological order is observed, and a due proportion is ever kept in sight, based on the intrinsic importance of events and persons, and on the abundance and reliability of the original documents. Fortunately, many of these are not only public but official—the authentic records of the Empire and the Church. Fortunately, too, there arose in the first half of the fifth century three men, two laymen and one bishop, who collected sifted and utilized these original and contemporary data. They

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also made public, leisurely and in detail, the final impressions and opinions of the thoughtful men of their own day concerning a fateful century that was dominated and directed by the manifold controversies usually bulked under the name Arianism. We may add that a certain tragical finality was stamped on these materials and their first "Uebersetzung" at the hands of Socrates Sozomen and Theodoret by the political storms of the fifth century, in which Roman culture government and letters all but perished in the West, and even in the Orient were grievously disturbed.

Baronius, Tillemont, Fleury, Natalis Alexander and a small host of Catholic historians, have cultivated this field of history in a way that leaves little to be desired. Its principal issues and their consequences, its efficient personalities and their work, are fairly well known to us. And, if we except such a find as the Paschal Letters of Saint Athanasius, very little has been added in the shape of original documents to affect seriously these earlier narrations. It is different, however, if we turn to the collections and editions of the original materials, to the critical refinement of historical method, and the multitude of exhaustive monographs. On these lines an incredible progress has been made since the eighteenth century, a progress large and solid enough to warrant a revision and adaptation of the ancient sources in the light of modern method and manner, and with the aid of modern helps unknown to our predecessors or imperfectly appreciated by them. All former histories, no less than all former views of the natural sciences, are henceforth subject to this process of revision and improvement. We do not need, therefore, to deprecate a new recital of the conflicts and vicissitudes of Christian life in the fourth and fifth centuries. History stays written in very few cases. Not only every age but every new generation loves to hear in its own familiar language the story of the past.

Dr. Bright's account of the Christological heresies is buttressed on all sides by sufficient information as to the general conditions civil and ecclesiastical. He is filled with a dignified enthusiasm for the great ecclesiastical figures and his attitude towards most of them is both sympathetic and correct. His style is usually rich and picturesque, heightened habitually by touches of local color, and by reminiscences or allusions that lift the forgotten person or site to a higher plane. The pen-pictures of Rome, Alexandria, Constantinople, and other centres of the famous conflicts of mind and policy betray an intimate acquaintance with the circumstances of the situation. As the book is entirely without notes or bibliography it cannot fail to interest the average reader, who will hear

in its pages some echo of a voice that for thirty-five years charmed a multitude of hearers at Oxford.

On more than one point, Dr. Bright ignores the progress made in certain directions. Thus (I. 35), Dr. von Funk has long since proved that there was but one order of penitents in the early Church, and that the habitual division into four classes is erroneous. It is no longer right to maintain absolutely that Pelagius was a Briton (II. 161). Dr. Zimmer has made out in his "Pelagius in Irland" a good case for his Irish origin. His account (I. 38) of the historical origin of clerical celibacy is open to serious objections. His judgment on Constantine (I. 45-48), is fair and conservative—some shadings of it are perhaps unjust to that great man and unwarranted by the authorities. Dr. Bright would probably have modified them if he could have used, before his death, the admirable introduction of Heikel to his edition of Eusebius' "Vita Constantini" and the "Oratio ad cœtum sanctorum." So, at almost every chapter, there is room for dissension, not indeed with the principal doctrine of the illustrious writer, but with statements and appreciations of minor import.

In one respect, however, the work of Dr. Bright does not commend itself to us. He deals unfairly with the primacy of the Roman See. Not that he shirks mention of the facts, he touches on many of the evidences that the period offers in favor of the supremacy of the Roman Church. But he shades and minimizes each individual proof, and applies steadily a negative criticism to all the documents and monuments. Here he is stern and there he is lax, according as the success of his special pleading demands. Nowhere is there met with the idea that this great volume of proof should be taken largely and philosophically, that the characters and situations of the deponents ought to be weighed, that language should usually be read as it was pronounced, without finical quibbling. An isolated case like that of the African Apiarius, concerning which we have not sufficient material on the Roman side, is made to overbalance a consensus of East and West. Another specimen is his treatment (I. 29-30) of the letter of the Synod of Arles (314) to Pope Sylvester, where the term "*qui majores dioceses tenet*" is whittled down to mean only Italy, and especially the City of Rome. Indeed, Hefele has shown (I. 204) after Noltke, that this reading of the text is faulty; it should be "*qui majoris diocesis gubernacula tenes*." This is quite in keeping with what the fathers of Arles say of the Holy See as the region (*partes*) "*in quibus et apostoli quotidie sedent et cruor ipsorum sine intermissione Dei gloriam testatur*." Dr. Bright only echoes the quibbling interpretation given by Doellinger to the powerful

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words of St. Irenaeus concerning the See of Peter. Men like the venerable Theodoret can appeal openly to the Holy See, and confess its rights as based on the apostolic succession, but the argument must fail because "of any divinely ordained supremacy over the whole church he says nothing" (II. 499). But *habemus confitentem reum!* As though the wearied old bishop of Cyrrhus should have written a tome ex professo to prove to the great Leo that he was the Head of the Church, when the appellant was at his feet as the court of last resort. It is a case of "*parole femmine fatti maschi*." Dr. Bright might at least admit with Dr. Harnack that from the middle of the second century the Roman Church was "*de facto if not de jure*" the foremost church in Christendom. He might go farther and admit that the authorities for that claim usually put forth as a sufficient reason the apostolic succession. We need only refer to the marvellous words of the author of "*De Aleatoribus*," probably himself a pope of Rome. Both volumes are models of the English book-maker's art, unsurpassed to-day in the world, and every way worthy of the great firm whose imprint they bear.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

**Ubertin Von Casale Und Dessen Ideenkreis**, ein Beitrag zum Zeitalter Dantes. Von Dr. Joh. Chrysostomus Huck. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1903. 8°, pp. 107.

Within a century of the death of the "Poverello" his work was brought to the verge of ruin, notably by reason of the heated discussions that arose among the Franciscans, particularly in Tuscany and Provence, as to the degree and the character of the poverty that they should practice. Though to some all such questions seemed as futile as the ancestry of Melchisedech, to others a positive answer seemed the first requisite of any sure imitation of the humble man of Assisi. In time, these domestic dissensions drew pope and emperor within their range. The fine arts, history, and even ecclesiastical doctrine, were more or less profoundly affected by the agitation of a multitude of exalted spirits in an age of yet living faith, in the crepuscular hour of mediaeval Christendom. A rude and appalling awakening was even then at hand. Only, a very few suspected from afar its character and its finality.

Dr. Huck has selected out of the ecclesiastical figures of the period that of the restless and disturbed Ubertino da Casale, a hamlet in the diocese of Vercelli, where he was born in 1259. At the age of fourteen he put on the habit of Saint Francis, studied theology at Paris for nine years, and was made lector in theology for the province of

Tuscany. He came at an early age under very conservative Franciscan influence, notably that of John of Parma and Petrus Johannes Olivi, the latter an ultra-mystic who died in 1305, and about whose writings there arose in time a conflict that affected seriously the life of his disciple and admirer Ubertino. After four troubled years as a preacher in Perugia, Ubertino was relegated, probably at the instigation of Benedict XI, to the dear but lonely heights of Alvernia where in 1305 he wrote his famous "*Arbor vite crucifixe Jesu*" in which the "*vilia hujus temporis*" are roundly assailed, especially the abandonment of the Franciscan ideal of the perfect life according to the gospel of Jesus—"ubique pungit spiritus Jesu in hoc libro pauperes falsos." During the reign of Clement V., Benedict XI., and John XXII., we find Ubertino in the front rank of the "Spirituals" or "Fraticelli." Dr. Huck is of the opinion that he was never a formal recalcitrant against the supreme authority of the Holy See, nor a heretic in any true sense of the word. His figure disappears suddenly and completely after 1322, when the conflict crosses the threshold of Franciscanism and enters upon a new and broader stage as a phase of the century-old quarrel between the "*Ecclesia*" and the "*Imperium*."

Like all the "Spirituals" of the thirteenth century, from Gerard of Borgo San Donnino to Petrus Jchannes Olivi, our Ubertino was profoundly influenced by the prophetic writings of Joachim of Floris, a Calabrian abbot who died in the year 1200 and left behind him a number of works, mostly prophetic in their tone, announcing the near approach of a final kingdom of the Holy Spirit, to be realized in the establishment of a new order of monks, and not later than the year 1260. The influence of Joachim never died away—his "*papa angelicus*" is the "*papa santo da venire*" of the obstinate "Spirituals." His symbolic signs and symbols were even worked over in apocryphal writings that did service under his name. As late as the year 1516 supposed prophecies of Joachim were again given currency in a work pretending to come from a hermit of Calabria, by name Telesphorus. It had really been composed in 1386 under the title "*de magnis tribulationibus et statu ecclesiae*." In it are found not only genuine utterances of Joachim, but also apocryphal material current under his name with fragments of an Oriental twelfth-century mystic, Cyril of Jerusalem, bits from the fifth book of Ubertino's "*Arbor vite crucifixe*," and "*vaticinia*" of the Sibyls, of Merlin, Dandalus, and other supposed trumpets of the Holy Spirit. The Italy of the early sixteenth century was, indeed, a deeply troubled world. The Italian editors of the year 1516 color these miscellaneous

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prophecies in an anti-German sense. The Empire is odious to them, and they desire the transfer of its symbols to the King of France. They foresee three anti-popes, an Italian, a Greek, and a German. The latter is the worst of his race, "*Germanorum omnium pessimus et erunt singuli ad invicem impugnantes et omnes contra verum papam.*" A bad German Emperor will ally himself with Turks and pagans, lay waste the Holy City, destroy churches and monasteries, overthrow the Castle St. Angelo, and level the Città Leonina with the ground. Ten years later took place the Sack of Rome, in which, curiously enough, many of these prophecies were fulfilled. Such books throw a "*helles Licht*" on the religious conditions of the opening decades of the sixteenth century. Janssen and Tocco, and before them Doellinger, have insisted on other specimens of this literature. The waning might of the mediæval empire, now shrunk to a small Austrian state, was no longer a fitting background for the Ghibelline "*Veltro*" of Dante and his sympathizers; he passes away forever as a political factor. But the new order of holy monks, "the twelve apostolic men to come," and the perfectly "angelical pope" lived on in the hearts and imaginations of the Mediterranean peoples, somewhat as the legend of Frederic the Second's return once incorporated the hopes of the imperial adherents. That such dreams could continue to affect serious men was chiefly due to the intense passion of the "*Fratricelli*" movement, a passion so great that it has left immortal traces of its raging in the poetry of a Jacopone da Todi, in the history of an Angelus de Clareno, and in the art of a Fra Angelico. Heaven never swam so near the eyes of a chosen band of men—it was they who compelled a pope, John XXII, to formally take back his personal opinion that the souls of the blessed departed would not at once enjoy the Beatific Vision. Even when their formal cause was irretrievably lost, its spirit and temper haunted the pur-  
 liens of ecclesiastical life, even as the spirit and temper of Montanus and Novatian long claimed recognition and tolerance in the primitive days of Catholicism. In the minds of these defeated but convinced men we are forever in the state described by Ubertino in the famous fifth book of his "*Arbor vite crucifixe*"—forever on the very edge of the "*eternum sponsalium beatificatæ universalitatis humanæ naturæ.*" As late as 1589 prophecies of their beloved Joachim were printed at Venice; already, in the same century, several writings, rightly or wrongly attributed to him had been printed. Their vogue, always great in Italy, was, no doubt, arrested by that of the new seer "*Malachy*," whose prophecies were first printed in 1595—no manuscript text earlier than that date has ever been known. That

Joachim was not utterly forgotten up to that time is clear from the remarkable lines that Montaigne devotes to him. Under the name of "Malachy" the prophetic symbols and "signa temporum" that have floated down, through Orient and Occident, with slight retouches, for nearly a thousand years have taken a new and long lease of life and credence.

In the contentions of the "Spirituals," there was too strong an admixture of genuine Christianity for them to utterly perish from the affections of the common multitude. And so they created their own legend, interwove it with the most passionate aspirations of the mediæval heart, and stamped upon it forever the mark of that furnace of tribulations out of which it came. The personal note in mediæval history is first strongly accentuated in Salimbene, that oddest of Joachimites, and is nowhere more keen and insistent than in the writings of an Ubertino da Casale and an Angelus de Clareno.

This little book is a very important one for teachers of history—it justifies more than one correction in our manuals. Thus (p. 73), the tractate "de septem statibus ecclesie" is assigned to Ubertino instead of Joachim; an attempt is made (p. 79) to establish a list of genuine writings of Joachim on the authority of a thirteenth century codex at Padua; Dr. Huck establishes (p. 39) the correct spelling of the name of Ubertino's master in the spiritual life—Petrus Johannes Olivi, and not Johannes de Oliva; he establishes against Preger and Doellinger the exact original sense of the "evangelium æternum" of Joachim; he reminds us (p. 99) that the violent denunciations of the Church that Doellinger printed as from Joachim are not found in his genuine writings; from Ubertino's writings he draws the conclusion (p. 70) that the unhappy division of the order was already a fact in the time of Saint Francis himself—a fact that "fr. Bonaventura in legenda modicum pertranseundo tetigit, quia nolebat antiquæ nostræ ruinæ initia legentibus publicare." (Arbor vite crucifixe, V. 7, fol. 1); a complete list of all known writings of Ubertino is given (p. 27); here and there a correction is vouchsafed to Luke Wadding himself (p. 34); he defends (p. 8) Ubertino from the charge of Cardinal Hergenroether that he was a supporter of the heretical Marsilius of Padua. One rises from the perusal of the charming study with the haunting cry of Guido Cavalcanti in one's ears,

"O povertà, come tu sei un manto,  
D'ira, d'invidia, e di cosa diversa!"

We trust that the gifted author will not long delay the promise he

has made (p. 107) to present the learned world with a "quellen-mässige Untersuchung über die Joachimitische Literatur." It will be a welcome addition to the "Italie Mystique" of Emile Gebhardt. Few studies in ecclesiastical history could be more useful than such an exposition of certain sources of psychological extravaganza, spiritual folly, and disobedient fanaticism.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

**Irish-American History of the United States.** By Very Rev. John Canon O'Hanlon, M.R.I.A. Dublin: Sealy, Bryers and Walker, 1903. 4°, pp. lxxxviii + 677. \$5.00.

Canon O'Hanlon is certainly an indefatigable man. For more than fifty years he has poured forth the treasures of a manifold and a reliable erudition in all that pertains to the history of his native land. The local antiquities of Ireland, her ancient poetry, legends and folklore, her almost countless saints, have been illustrated by him with all the affection of patriotism and all the accuracy of a scholar. Alone, this venerable priest has brought almost to completion one of the most stupendous pieces of hagiographical work known to Church historians—the Lives of the Irish Saints in twelve large octavo volumes, of which nine have already appeared. It is a work that has demanded incredible toil, self-denial, research—for the historical materials of Ireland are as tangled as they are abundant,—a work, too, that should be in the library of every community where there are men of Irish descent. And now, at the close of a long and honorable career as a historian, he offers to the reading public a History of the United States, written from the point of view of an Irishman, to whom the share of his people and race in the upbuilding of the world's latest and most powerful great state is naturally very dear. In this work the chief events and great outlines of the history of the United States are related with model succinctness, brevity and clearness—any one interested in the story of the Union will read these pages with delight. They are among the best of many thousands that Canon O'Hanlon has written. But the reader who cares for the relations of Ireland and the United States, will find that every chapter abounds with references to Irishmen and their rôle in the creation of our state. A multitude of foot-notes furnish the justification of the thesis that no European race has contributed more generously to us of its life-blood, its energies, resolution and daring, than Ireland. Wherever ardor, self-sacrifice, idealism, were called for, the Children of the Green Isle have always claimed the post of honor. They are

found on the thin red line of battle, on the perilous margin of savage life, foremost ever in the explorer's party, the mining camp, the pioneer hamlet, the new state carving for itself a place in the great procession of communities that have been moving westward with irresistible destiny for over one hundred years.

Canon O'Hanlon has written this work with much historical skill. His sources are the best general histories of our country, the state and local histories of repute, autobiographies, and of course, the collections of original documents as far as printed and accessible. The reader will rightly wonder that the author should have been able to compile so learned a work at a distance from our libraries and from the daily output of fresh material. The work is also a very creditable specimen of the Irish book-maker's art, solid and free in binding, tasty in its pilot-blue cover and its delicate green page-decoration of ancient Keltic ornament. It ought to be in every family that prizes its Irish origin and in every public library that would feed the fires of patriotism.

And now some *nanix* of criticism. More than once it has occurred to us that all readers of this book will not agree with certain appreciations and judgments of Canon O'Hanlon, while recognizing their manly presentation and the authorities cited for them. This is particularly true of the chapters on the Civil War. There is lacking an "Index Nominum," catalogue of names that are immediately or mediately of Irish origin. Such a list is essential to the useful and easy consultation of a book that deals with so many individuals. There is also lacking a list of the principal works used in the compilation of the book. Such a list is not only a stimulus to the special student, but an instructive guide to the average reader. In another edition there might well be a greater abundance of portraits of distinguished Irish-Americans, photographs of monuments, sites, and other memorabilia. Not infrequently the latest and best literature is wanting. Thus we miss the fine monograph of Martin I. J. Griffin on Commodore Barry, and that of Michael Cavanaugh on Thomas Francis Meagher. Only an Irish-American historical magazine, devoted to such publications, could bring them at once and regularly within the range of the distinguished scholar.

Of the documents published in the appendix, the most valuable for our readers is the famous appeal "To the People of Ireland" made May 10, 1775, by the Colonial Delegates assembled at Philadelphia. Of this noble document Canon O'Hanlon says (p. 175) that "it was drafted with a force and couched in a dignity of language calculated to chain the sympathies and to arouse the indignation of a freedom-

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loving people." In art, address and execution, it was "equal to any public declaration made by any powers or upon the greatest occasions." We could wish that some chapters had been added on the share of Irishmen in the literary and economic development of the United States, as well as a conspectus of what has been done by them in the service of religion. Perhaps the preliminary labors have not yet been done, notably that "Biographia Hibernica" which long since should have been placed beside the noble work of Mr. Gillow on English Catholics since the Reformation.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

**Les Principes ou Essais sur le Problème des Destinées de l'Homme.** Par l'abbé Georges Frémont. Paris: Bloud, 1901.

2 vols., 8°, pp. 410, 427.

**L'Eglise Catholique**, Instructions d'Apologétique. Par l'Abbé Léon Désers. 2d ed. Paris: Poussielgue, 1902. 3 vols., 8°, pp. 288.

**Dieu et l'Homme**, Instructions d'Apologétique. Par l'abbé Léon Désers. 2 ed. Paris: Poussielgue, 1900. 8°, pp. 228.

**Le Christ Jesus**, Instructions d'Apologétique. Par l'abbé Léon Désers. 2d ed. Paris: Poussielgue, 1901. 8°, pp. 236.

**Discours de Combat.** Par Ferdinand Brunetière, de l'Académie Française. Paris: Perrin, 1902-1903. 2 vols., 8°, pp. 340, 299.

1. If one would measure the distance traveled by the science of Catholic Apologetics since, just one century ago, Chateaubriand dedicated to Napoleon his great didactic poem, the *Génie du Christianisme*, he must read these volumes of the abbé Fremont. They are admirable for their learning and their critical spirit as well as for the sincere enthusiasm of the writer and the sustained eloquence of his exposition. The *Destiny of Man* is the theme that he develops in six books. He treats first of the "actualité" of the problem, and maintains successfully that Positivism has not yet cast it out from the minds and hearts of men. In the second book he writes, as it were, the history of this idea as far as the sayings of great men illustrate it, and demonstrates that without a grasp of it there is in human society no unity of thought, no repose of heart, no happiness of our kind, and that it is the most inevitable preoccupation of all men. In the third book he considers the question from the point of view of the family, public instruction, public morality, and good government. In the fourth, he illustrates it from the masterpieces of literature, poetry and the fine arts. In the fifth, the great critics of literature and the great historians, ancient and modern, appear as witnesses to its universality and ubiquity. In the sixth, a stately and convincing

procession of philosophers from Socrates to Descartes express their unanimous agreement on the same lines as the critics, historians, and men of letters. In every heart the deepest stirrings are those which Jesus Christ stilled forever when He said (John VIII, 14): "Scio unde veni et quo vado." The book of Abbé Frémont is worthy of frequent and attentive perusal, worthy, too, of translation, at least in a compact form adapted to our needs and conditions. It abounds in that saving quality of genuine Frenchmen—good sense.

2. These three volumes of the curé of St. Vincent de Paul at Paris contain his popular instructions on God, Providence, man and the world on the genuine meaning of life as set forth by Jesus Christ, and on the nature, office, and work of the Catholic Church. Good and reliable doctrine, frank answers and explanations for a multitude of current objections, a style dignified at once and familiar in its "allure," a great love of truth and anxiety to make it both known and loved, are the characteristics of these small volumes, somewhat more popular and unpretentious than the foregoing work, but sharing several of its good qualities. The clergy that can produce such books is neither ignorant nor idle, nor useless to the common weal—on the contrary, it is deeply to be regretted that their native land does not profit more by their enlightenment.

3. When the great rhetorician Marius Victorinus became a Christian, the edifice of pagan literary criticism toppled and fell. We would not say as much of the value of the accession to the ranks of Catholicism of M. Ferdinand Brunetière. Nevertheless, it was in its own way an epoch when, in the very *arx* of that delightful science a great master of modern literary criticism deliberately walked out from the ranks of the hesitating and took the last place in the army of the faithful of France. Yet hardly the last place, for this brilliant layman became soon a spokesman of French Catholicism, a kind of Newman come out from the Philistines of agnosticism, or rather an under-study of Pascal, just such a lay preacher and confessor as the suspicious and timid mind of Gallic "bourgeoisie" is always turning to, be he the sugary prophet of Tréguier or the holy man of Tours. One of the best modern French ecclesiastical writers admits that it is necessary for the clerical estate to again secure the adhesion of the average man in the former stronghold of Catholicism.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>"Il faut renoncer aux injures, aux déclamations, aux prophéties apocalyptiques et chercher à nouer de pacifiques relations avec les instituteurs, les maires, les magistrats, les députés, les sénateurs, les ministres et tous ceux qui tiennent en main les ressorts du gouvernement. Il faut convaincre l'opinion publique et, surtout, les masses populaires que l'Eglise n'est hostile ni à la science, ni à la démocratie, ni au progrès, ni au bien-être des classes ouvrières, et que ceux qui



Since 1896, M. Brunetière has often spoken to his countrymen of the supreme value and dignity of their national religion. Few know their France as the editor of the "Revue des Deux Mondes" and few, therefore, choose so happily the points of view from which to approach a multitude of noble souls who suffer mentally and spiritually from the absence of the ancient elements of faith hope and love, as they were once common to the average French heart. The mere enumeration of the titles of these discourses has, therefore, a certain significance. In the first volume we come across his speeches on the Renaissance of Idealism, on Art and Morality, the Idea of Fatherland, the Enemies of the French Soul, the Nation and the Army, the Latin Genius, and the Need of Faith. In the second, he has added certain admirable addresses made in the last two years. Why we should *now* have faith, the Idea of Solidarity, Catholic Activity, the Work of Calvin, Reasons for Hope, the Criticism of Taine, Progress in Religion. These discourses were delivered at places so far apart as Paris, Marseilles, Avignon, Lille, Besançon, Toulouse, Tours, Geneva, Lyons, Fribourg, and Florence; that is, mostly at great centres of human activity, industrial, political, academic and artistic. The work of M. Brunetière is therefore apostolic in its nature. This liberal mind, the *fine fleur* of the University, long nourished in all the traditions of modern French secularism, has deliberately opted for what appears to many of his countrymen a losing cause. The historian of his fatherland's literary glory and the preceptor of all youthful France in the passionately beloved field of letters and style has become, for himself, a herald of the great saving principles of Catholicism as alone equal to the moral and social regeneration of France. M. Brunetière is no ordinary apostle, and his discourses are no ordinary apology for our religion. In him the historic sense is original, keen and sure. He is the chief philosopher of literary æstheticism—hence his presentation of the religion of France to his fellow-citizens is sure to take on all the attraction of a realism touched with the sacred fire of a harmonious and persuasive tongue. Doubtless, the regeneration of Catholic France will be a long and slow process. But no Catholic the world over can disinterest himself from the task, so widely does the genius of France always radiate, so centrally located in Catholicism is that great land, so cosmopolitan is her ancient capital, so old and irresistible are the ideals, I was going to say the idols, which she holds up to humanity

l'accusent de rêver la domination politique par la restauration de la monarchie sont des calomnieux. Il faut, enfin, et avant toute chose, rendre à la majorité des électeurs français la foi religieuse, l'amour des sublimes et constantes vérités de l'Evangile, qu'hélas! ils n'ont plus." (Frémont, "Les Principes," I, p. 404.)

for its adoration. In these volumes of M. Brunetière the reader will find the practical views and suggestions of a veteran judge in history and literature.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

**Codex Vaticanus No. 3773** (Codex Vaticanus B). An old Mexican Pictorial Manuscript in the Vatican Library, published at the expense of His Excellency the Duke de Loubat, Correspondent of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres of the Institute of France, elucidated by Dr. Eduard Seler, professor of American Linguistics, Ethnology and Archaeology in the University of Berlin. First Half, Text of the Obverse side. Second Half, Text of the Reverse side and Explanatory Tables. Berlin and London: 1902-1903. 4°, pp. 352.

**Gesammelte Abhandlungen Zur Amerikanischen Sprach Und Alterthumskunde.** Von Eduard Seler. Erster Band, illustrated. Berlin: Asher, 1902. 8°, pp. 862.

Publications like the above chronicle the high-water mark in the progress of Central-American ethnology and philology. This volume of the collected essays of Dr. Seler places before the learned world the principles and method on which he has hitherto proceeded in the decipherment of the great Mexican codices and inscribed and sculptured monuments of Yucatan. The students of this attractive lore will find therein not only inspiration, but models of the most patient and delicate research, with results of astounding value. It can no longer be said, as in the time of Stephens, Catherwood, and even of Désiré Charnay, that the old monuments of Central America are "perfectly unintelligible."

It is to the immortal credit of the Due de Loubat that he has placed before the scholars of the twentieth century the "sources" of Mexican antiquities—history, theology, chronology, popular manners and institutions. At an enormous expense he has taken up the work of the ill-fated Lord Kingsborough and caused it to be executed with great success, both as regards accuracy and completeness of materials. It has been a pleasure and a duty to record in the BULLETIN the reproductions of these wonderful codices that we owe to the initiative of the distinguished American whose generosity places copies of the same in the great libraries of Europe and America. To one of the finest among them, the Codex Vaticanus 3773 (see BULLETIN, above) Dr. Seler furnishes a commentary in English, that is fascinating for the perspective it opens of a final intelligence of the written and inscribed texts that have long been the *crux* of American philologists and ethnologists. It is no longer probable that the splendid

publications of Mr. Alfred Maudsley will remain forever undeciphered. A generous Mæcenas and a new Champollion seem to have met one another at a critical moment for the eternal glory of human science and skill.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

**The Workman.** C. Beyaert. Bruges: 1902. 8°, pp. 135.

This is a translation by Rev. P. Grobel of the French volume "Les Catholiques Belges" of M. Beyaert. It is a touching appeal to the faith, humanity and manliness of laboring men, that they make every effort, individually and by associated action, to improve their moral and social condition. The language is so simple and direct, and the spirit of the book is so genuine, that it might easily become a source of inspiration to many if it could be made known to those to whom it appeals.

WILLIAM J. KERBY.

**De Religiosis Institutis et Personis.** Par A. Vermeersch S.J. Brugis. Beyaert: 1902. Pp. 390.

**De Vocatione Religiosa.** *Ibid.*, 1903. Pp. 45.

These two works of Father Vermeersch are practically one study, the second being a supplement. The author, who is professor of moral theology in the Jesuit House of Studies in Louvain, is well known also by his works on moral and social questions. The volume before us is an exhaustive treatise on the origin, nature, forms, laws and institutions of religious life, written in accordance with the most recent decrees bearing on them. The matter is carefully disposed and printed in a way to make the reading an agreeable task, while a good analytical table and an index make it easily a first rate reference work on all points of religious life.

WILLIAM J. KERBY.

**Konversations Lexicon.** Herder. 3d edition. Vol. I, A-Bona-  
parte; pp. 870 or 1740 columns. Vol. II, Bonar-Eldorado. Pp.  
879 (1758 columns). \$3.50 per volume. 1903.

**Staats Lexikon.** Von Dr. Julius Bachem. 2 aufl. Vol. IV. Möser-  
Sismondi. Pp. 720 or 1440 col. \$4.75. Herder, 1903. Complete  
in 5 volumes.

1. This third edition of the "Konversations Lexicon" of Herder is a splendid achievement from every point of view. The work is intended to be a popular encyclopæia, bringing within reasonable compass and making accessible at moderate expense, all such information as current culture and general scholarship demand. Thus it is that one finds the natural, the biological, the social sciences, history,

biography, art, theology and religion, not to mention other sources, furnishing a most interesting variety of information to the general reader. A carefully prepared system of abbreviation is employed, by means of which a fairly exhaustive treatment is made possible in relatively narrow limits. The lexicon, while keeping this general purpose well in mind, has the added and no less important aim of presenting subjects in sympathy with the positive doctrinal and historical elements of Catholicity. The Church as an historical institution and vital element of civilization receives, therefore, such notice as her character and dignity merit. The illustrations throughout the work are superb. The plates used with the articles on Egyptian and Early Christian Art, Architecture and Sculpture, as well as many others, and the drawings and maps are the equal of any that modern skill has produced for book purposes. Paper, binding and printing are up to Herder's usual standard of excellence, hence the Lexicon may be recommended as in every way worthy of widest circulation.

WILLIAM J. KERBY.

2. The fourth volume of the "Staats Lexikon," now issuing from Herder's press, has just been received. The earlier volumes were briefly reviewed in former numbers of the BULLETIN. Reserving a general notice of the whole work until the last volume appears it may be said that Vol. IV is in keeping with all expectations. The best known and ablest of the Catholic scholars of Germany are among the contributors to the Lexikon. Further proof of the value of the work can scarcely be asked.

WILLIAM J. KERBY.

#### **Les Combattants Français de la Guerre Americaine, 1778-1783.**

Listes établies d'après les documents authentiques déposés aux Archives Nationales et aux Archives du Ministère de la Guerre, publiés par les soins du Ministre des Affaires Etrangères. Paris: Ancienne Maison Quantin. 1903. 8°, pp. xii + 327.

From February 6, 1778, to September 3, 1782, France was the ally of the United States in its heroic effort to establish independence and liberty. The fleets and the armies of France coöperated during nearly six years with the young republic. All classes and conditions of Frenchmen found a place in the great struggle—foremost among them the Irish regiments of Dillon and Walsh. But the names of most of these brave men were hitherto buried in oblivion in such records of the French monarchy as are yet preserved at Paris. Owing to the initiative of the French section of the Sons of the Revolution and to the zeal of Mr. H. Merou, Consul-General of France at Chicago,

these military and naval registers are now printed for the first time. Of the Irish regiments, however, only the names of the officers are printed. Some sixty French chaplains who accompanied the various fleets, are also carried on the rolls, an interesting contribution to the beginnings of our Church history. The work is handsomely illustrated with portraits of the principal French officers, and is a notable addition to the "sources" of American Revolutionary history.

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**Repertoire Alphabetique des Theses de Doctorat és lettres des Universités françaises, 1810-1900**, avec table chronologique par universités et table détaillée des matières. Par M. Albert Marie. Paris: Picard, 1903. 8°, pp. 226.

This small volume fills a notable bibliographical need. It contains, in alphabetical order, the author-names and titles of very nearly all the university dissertations offered in France during the last century for the doctorate. They number 2182, and by far the greater number were offered to the University at Paris, no slight evidence of the success of the academic centralization effected by Napoleon.

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**The Great Encyclical Letters of Pope Leo XIII.** translations from approved sources, with preface by Rev. John T. Wynne, S.J. New York: Benziger, 1903. 8°, pp. 580.

The most active minds in Christendom have usually been those of the Popes of Rome. Our theological literature would be considerably diminished if we were to lose from it a multitude of important documents contributed by them, and touching on every large question of philosophical or theological interest. This is equally true of the domains of history and political science in its many forms. In the vast mass of writings that we owe to them it is usually the functions of headship that appear most prominently—they are the primary directive force in the life of Catholicism. By reason of their peculiar position they have always affected the oldest form of Christian composition—the epistolary, and the oldest way of reaching the faithful, through the episcopate. There is no real difference of form between the Letter of Saint Clement of Rome to the Church of Corinth, the *tractatus* of the fourth-century popes to bishops of Spain and Gaul, the highly personal correspondence of a St. Gregory the Great, and the Letters of a pope of the nineteenth century. In content and spirit, in argument and purpose, they are chapters in one continuous story of surpassing solemnity and grandeur. Such correspondence

as a rule is world-wide in its range, permanent in its interest, and far-reaching in its consequences. All collections of such superior historical materials, in any shape, are welcomed by students of history, for they place before all readers a class of public documents whose value, social, religious, and psychological, transcends that of all other materials known to man, were they the library of Alexandria.

Leo XIII. lived and worked in a period that may well be called crucial, whether we consider the magnitude and complexity of the events that fill it, or the skill and boldness and consciousness of the chief actors, or the philosophical light and temper in which they usually approach their work, or the universal and splendid academical equipment for all studies preparatory to decisive acts and policies.

His masterly exposition of Catholic doctrine had therefore a suitable setting. And his long pontificate, his varied experience of life, his literary taste and skill, his personal attainments in theology and philosophy, his liberal sympathies with all that was worthy and possible in our modern aspirations, furnished him with the mental equipment needed for the masterly treatment of so many varied themes. The "*Acta Leonis XIII.*" contain, of course, the original Latin of all his important utterances. In that stately language the student will love to read the teachings of the Church as they came from the mouth of a genuine scholar. But the translations garnered by Father Wynne will open the substance of this teaching to many superior minds and hearts, tossed on the flood of opinion and doubt, and looking for some broad haven in which to enjoy the peace of faith and the calm of final conviction. THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

**Edgar, or From Atheism to the Full Truth.** By Louis von Hammerstein, S.J. St. Louis: Herder, 1903. 8°, pp. 355.

**A Systematic Study of the Catholic Religion.** By Charles Coppens, S.J. St. Louis: Herder, 1903. 8°, pp. 370.

1. In the form of an interesting dialogue Fr. von Hammerstein has dealt with the current objections of materialists and rationalists against the Christian religion and Catholicism. They centre usually about God, Redemption and the Church. Hence, in the first section are expounded the principle of faith, the doctrine of the creation, the divine origin of justice and duty, of future happiness and the Catholic concept of miracles. In a second section he deals with the main facts of Our Lord's life, with the Books of the New Testament, the prophecies and their fulfilment, and with the usual objections to these elements of Christian faith. In the third section are treated

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the true nature of the Church, the principle of authority in religion, the evidences of it in councils and creeds, the headship of Catholicism. Justification, Grace, the salient points of the Tridentine Confession and the Reformation are touched on briefly but instructively. In a pleasing preface Fr. Conway calls attention to the quiet and dispassionate character of this little work, and declares it "a clear, concise, simple exposition of Catholic teaching, warm with fervor of Christian charity and apostolic zeal." We subscribe to this judgment, and wish the work a wide circulation. In spite of an extended table of contents, it very much needs an index. The style of the translation is good, so good that the work reads like an original.

2. Fr. Coppens has rendered a service to Catholic laymen, and to non-Catholics by this summary of the larger work of his confrère, Father Hunter. He follows the general plan of this author's "Outlines of Dogmatic Theology," and reproduces in abridgment many of its judicious explanations, "finding them peculiarly well-adapted to the habits of English-speaking students." For those who have not at hand the work of Father Hunter, this adaptation will be welcome.

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**University and Other Sermons.** By Mandell Creighton, sometime Bishop of London; edited by Louise Creighton. New York: Longmans, 1903. 8°, pp. 271.

**Discourses on War.** By William Ellery Channing, with an introduction by Edwin D. Mead. Boston: Ginn and Co., 1903. 8°, pp. lxi + 229.

These discourses of Bishop Creighton breathe his irenic and scholarly spirit. Occasionally his theology and his reading of history differ sharply from Catholic positions, but the tone of his speech is always elevated and inspiring. Not a little of gentle dreamy mysticism is to be found in these pages. And his reputation for fairness in the writing of history is well sustained by the discourse "On the Work of the Monasteries," in which he takes a position quite close to that of Dom Gasquet.

2. The discourses of William Ellery Channing on the evils and the horrors of war are classical texts among the lovers of peace. Dr. Channing was profoundly touched by the contradiction between the true Christian spirit and the military spirit. The one was the embodiment of love and the condition of genuine human progress, the other the embodiment of hate and all moral degradation. These discourses are always timely and pertinent among us, for they were brought forth by crises in our own national life, crises that Dr.

Channing did not fear to judge from a fundamentally Christian point of view, however unpopular that might have been with his contemporaries. The discourses, or rather essays on the great war-lord, Napoleon, are good specimens of the splendid eloquence which this rarely gifted speaker and writer displayed in the early days of our national life, of the literary perfection of his style, and of the richness warmth and delicate coloring of his diction.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

**English History Illustrated from Original Sources, 1399-1485.**

By F. H. Durham. London: Adam and Charles Black (Macmillan), 1902. 8°, pp. 141.

**English History Illustrated from Original Sources, 1660-1715.**

By J. Neville Figgis. Ibid., 1902. 8°, pp. 207.

These handy volumes contain brief excerpts from the original materials of each of the great periods of English history. The idea is an excellent one, to put before the young student of history something more than a list of dates and names. The chronicles of a period, its letters, reports, mémoires, even the great public documents, have a lively charm about them that always fascinates. The antiquated diction alone quickens the interest of a youthful reader, who soon seizes a personality in the narrator, gauges his interest in the facts, and thus has his own critical spirit gently but healthily aroused. Each volume is prefaced by a short introduction, and accompanied by a select bibliography of published original sources, by notes on the writers of the same, and by genealogical tables to which brief comments are added in explanation. It would be an admirable work to prepare a similar series for our Catholic high schools, academies and colleges, since there are many elements and factors of pre-Reformation history that we cannot expect non-Catholics to appreciate or to treat with such intelligent sympathy as we should rightly manifest. This is all the more important as in the mediæval period Catholicism was not only the popular and universal form of religion, but was the great moulding force of all English life, public and private.

The editor well says (p. vii) that by the use of such books infinitely better results are gotten from the classes of history than from mere reading and questioning on a text-book. It compels the teacher to study and assimilate in order to explain by word of mouth. It moves the pupil to notice cause and effect, and to draw his own inferences. It familiarizes him with the views of life taken by contemporaries and widens his mental horizon in an agreeable and natural way. Illustrations accompany the text, portraits and historical scenes, that

appeal strongly to the imagination of the young reader and satisfy his curiosity as to details of dress and appearance.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

## BOOKS RECEIVED.

Manual of Mystical Theology. By A. Devine. London, R. and T. Washbourne. 1903. 8°, pp. 664.

Institutiones Philosophiæ Moralis et Socialis quas in Collegio Maximo Lovaniensi Societatis Jesu tradebat A. Castelein, S.J. Bruxelles Société Belge de Librairie. 1903. 2 vols., 8°, pp. —.

Decreta Synodorum Hartfordiensium in unum volumen collecta, antistitis Michaelis Tierney jussu. Hartfordiæ, Conn., 1903. 8°, pp. 334.

Die Heilsnotwendigkeit in der althristlichen Litteratur bis zur Zeit des heiligen Augustinus. Von Anton Seitz. Freiburg: Herder, 1903. 8°, pp. 416.

Prælectiones de Missa, cum appendice de SS. Eucharistiæ sacramento, auctore S. Many. Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1903. 8°, pp. 400.

Die Elemente der Eucharistie in der ersten drei Jahrhunderten. Von Alois Scheiweiler (Forschungen zur christlichen Litteratur und Dogmengeschichte III, 4). Mainz: Kirchheim, 1903. 8°, pp. —.

La Vacanza della Santa Sede, Il Conclave, l'Elezione del Nuovo Papa. Per Mons Pietro Piacenza. Rome: Pustet. 16°, pp. 95.

Ways of the Six-footed. By Anna Botsford Comstock, B.S. Boston: Ginn and Co., 1903. 8°, pp. 152.

The Insect Folk. By Margaret Warner Morley. Boston: Ginn and Co., 1903. 8°, pp. 196.

Agriculture for Beginners. By Charles William Berkett, Frank Lincoln Stevens and Daniel Harvey Hill. Boston: Ginn and Co., 1903. 8°, pp. 267.

The New Century Catholic Series, First Reader, 8°, pp. 143. Second Reader, 8°, pp. 177. Handsomely illustrated. New York: Benziger, 1903.

The Jones Readers, First, Second, Third, Fourth. Illustrated. Boston: Ginn and Co., 1903.

Moral Briefs, A concise reasoned and popular exposition of Catholic Morality by the Rev. John H. Stapleton, Hartford Conn.: The Catholic Transcript, 1903. 8°, pp. 311.

De Carentia Ovariorum relate ad Matrimonium, II. N. Casacca, O.S.A., Philadelphia: H. Kilner and Co., 1903. 8°, pp. 20.

- Creighton University, *Reminiscences of Twenty-five years*. By M. P. Dowling, S.J., Omaha: 1902. 8°, pp. 272.
- Boston, *A Guide Book*. By Edwin M. Bacon, Boston: Ginn and Co., 1903. 8°, pp. 190.
- The Students' Handbook of British and American Literature*, with selections from the writings of the most distinguished authors. By the Rev. O. L. Jenkins, A.M., S.S. Edited by Rev. E. Viger, A.M., S.S. Fourteenth edition. Baltimore: John Murphy Co., 1903. 8°, pp. 622.
- Allen and Greenough's *New Latin Grammar for Schools and Colleges*, founded on Comparative Grammar. Edited by J. B. Greenough, G. L. Kittredge, A. A. Howard, Benj. L. D'Ooge. Boston: Ginn and Co. 1903. 8°, pp. 490.
- A Latin Grammar*. By William Gardner Hale, Professor of Latin in the University of Chicago, and Carl Darling Buck, Professor of Comparative Philology in the University of Chicago. Boston: Ginn and Co., 1903. 8°, pp. 388.
- M. Tullii Ciceronis Tusculanarum Disputationum Liber Primus et Somnium Scipionis*. Edited with Introduction and Notes by Frank Ernest Rockwood, Professor of Latin in Bucknell University. Boston: Ginn and Co., 1903. 8°, pp. viii + 22 + 106.
- The Odes and Epodes of Horace*. Edited with Introduction and Notes by Clement Laurence Smith, Pope Professor of Latin in Harvard University. Boston: Ginn and Co., 1903. 8°, pp. viii + 443.
- Why Catholics Cannot be Freemasons: Foreign Freemasonry*. By D. Moncreiff O'Connor, International Truth Society. Brooklyn: N. Y., 1903. 16°, pp. 68.
- Scenes and Sketches in an Irish Parish, of Priest and People in Doon*. By a Country Curate. New York: Benziger, 1903. 16°, pp. 132.
- Sick-Calls, or Chapters of Pastoral Medicine*. By Rev. Alfred Manning Mulligan. New York: Benziger, 1903. 8°, pp. 173.

## THE ANNUAL COLLECTION FOR THE UNIVERSITY.

It is worthy of note that interest in the welfare of the University forms a conspicuous feature in the transition from one pontificate to another. Leo XIII, but a few months before his death, appointed the present Rector and charged him, in no ambiguous terms, to build up the institution according to the design of its founder. Pius X has scarcely ascended the papal throne when he addresses a letter to the American episcopate, urging them to place the University on a sound financial basis by means of an annual collection. The meaning of the Holy Father is, or ought to be, quite plain. What one Pope established the other proposes to maintain, because the same high motives are ever in force and the same sacred purposes are always to be served. The University has become part of the traditions of the Papacy, so far as the latter deals with the church in America.

This attitude of the Holy See is of special significance, because it makes clear the way in which the influence of the Church, according to the intention of the Holy See, is to be exerted in these United States. Much has been said and written of late to the effect that the Papacy is deeply interested in American progress; that this country, with its large freedom of action, opens up a rich field for the work of the Church; that, in contrast with European conditions, this Republic is a manifest expression of a high over-ruling Providence, and the like. That there is truth in such optimistic views, cannot be doubted. And it is equally certain that there are many divergent opinions as to the particular manner in which the Church should profit by her opportunity. But to the broader vision and the experienced insight of the Papacy, the matter is quite clear. It is by a more thorough cultivation of the intellectual life among our own people that we must expect to render service to the nation, and thereby demonstrate the inherent necessity of religious and moral education can avail but little

vitality of the Church. To discourse eloquently about the unless the right measures are taken to show that the Church is now, as she has been in the past, the best teacher of the people. To lament the baneful influence of this or that system of instruction without providing for real Christian education from the lowest grade to the highest, is simply a waste of time and sentiment. The only efficacious means of dealing with the situation is that which Leo XIII devised and which Pius X evidently means to perfect—the development of a University that shall be powerful enough not only to present the teaching of the Church on the great questions of the day, but also to diffuse that teaching through a system of properly equipped secondary and elementary schools.

The day is past for imagining, or getting others to imagine, that the University is so far removed from the life and interests of the Catholic people, as to make it no concern of theirs. The very local interests which, in each diocese, and even in each parish, come nearest to the minds of the clergy and laity, demand for their proper maintenance and direction the influence of a central institution. One might as well think of conducting the affairs of town and country with no regard for the Federal authority, as to think of improving the educational facilities of the humblest parochial school without any attention to the higher and even the highest of our institutions.

In consequence, the letters which we subjoin from the Holy Father and from the Cardinal Chancellor of the University are in every way opportune. Appealing through the Episcopate to the Clergy and people, they prove more forcibly than any amount of argument that the development of the University and the completion of its endowment are sacred duties incumbent upon all. And because this appeal does base itself upon the fact that the Church is an organization, not a mere collection of scattering bodies, it is the more thoroughly in harmony with that spirit of generous activity which has hitherto accomplished so much in the cause of religion.

It is hoped by all the friends and well-wishers of the University that a generous response will be forthcoming to the appeal made by the Board of Trustees in favor of the great undertaking. That appeal has been ratified by the Episcopate



of the United States, in whose name the Board of Trustees administers the University. The august sanction of the Holy See, both in the persons of Leo XIII and Pius X, has been granted to this significant decision. It has therefore, all the authoritative approval that could be required. At every step careful attention has been given to all considerations worthy of attention, and now the action of the Board of Trustees goes before the millions of our Catholic laity for that practical adhesion that they always give to the decisions of the Hierarchy.

By means of this collection the meaning of a Catholic University will be brought home easily and directly to every Catholic man and woman in the land. We may rightly expect from it a relief in the immediate future from the anxieties and fears that not unnaturally beset the hearts of all who had given to this holy enterprise their lives or their sympathies. We may also expect a still greater result, an aroused conscience and interest on the part of all the Catholics of our land. A very small number of individuals and a few generous, high-minded associations have carried the burden for fifteen years. Their donations have kept alive the work in the first two decades of its existence, covered the period of its infancy, and given a sufficient shelter to the first organization of a teaching that we hope will one day grow to rival the noblest and most useful of the Catholic Universities of the past.

There are nearly one hundred dioceses in the United States, with about thirteen thousand clergymen, twelve thousand churches, and fully twelve million Catholics. If this immense and united organization would only contribute for each person a very modest sum, the result would be such as to astonish the entire nation and reveal, what we all know to exist, a sincere universal desire to elevate our system of Catholic education to the very highest level, and to make, even in our pioneer period, such large and intelligent provision for its future as would compel in the centuries to come the admiration of all.

Collective enterprises, it is true, are some time in commending themselves. Local parochial needs not unjustly appeal to the individuals whose toil and devotion alone can create and sustain them. All honor to the brave and patient

generations of priests and sisters, of laymen and laywomen who have lifted the Catholic cross in every hamlet from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and assured the works of Catholicism in all quarters of this great land. But larger works constantly invite us, and with urgency; for they are needed to secure what has been already done. The Catholic University is such a work of universal Catholic significance; were it otherwise, the Holy See would not tolerate for a moment the appeal to American Catholic generosity that it now repeatedly urges, and with that grave and noble insistency that befits the Supreme Head of Catholicism.

#### LETTER OF OUR HOLY FATHER, PIUS X.

*Dilecto Filio Nostro Jacobo Tit. S. Mariæ Trans Tiberim S. R. E. Presb. Card. Gibbons Archiepiscopo Baltimorensium et Magni Lycei Washingtoniensis Cancellario Baltimoram, Pius PP. X.*

Dilecte Fili Noster, Salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem.—Quae de Washingtoniensis lycei magni fortuna, minus sane quam sit e votis laetabili, haud ita pridem significabas, magno in eadem animo curas Nostras sollicitudinemque convertimus. Vestigiis enim ut est optimis consentaneum rebus, Decessoris Nostri, in causa praesertim gravi maximarumque utilitatum, insistentes, libuit studia Nostra, quae in illustrem Americae Academiam jamdudum fovimus, servare in Summo Apostolatus munere, atque etiam pro facultate exaugere. Quapropter jucunde admodum novimus sic esse ab episcopis laudati lycei moderatoribus provisum, ceterisque, quorum interest, probatum ut primo quoque dominico die Adventus Sacri redeunte, aut, ejusmodi praepedito tempore, quo proximo dominico die liceat, in omnibus Foederatarum Civitatum ecclesiis symbolae ad amplificandum Washingtonensis Academiae decus conquirantur decem per annos. Initum communiter consilium frugiferum maxime censemus, cupimusque propterea atque optamus ut in propositum Academiae bonum et universae reipublicae istius episcopi et studiosi doctrinarum religionisque fideles omni ope contendant. Rem autem uti adjuvare gratia sua Deus benigne velit, Apostolicam Benedictionem vobis et gregibus vestris ex animo imperimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die IX Septembris MCMIII, Pontificatus nostri anno primo.

PIUS PP. X.

(TRANSLATION.)

*"To Our Beloved Son, James, Cardinal Gibbons, Cardinal Priest of the Holy Roman Church, with the Title of Santa Maria in Trastevere; Archbishop of Baltimore and Chancellor of the Catholic University at Washington:*

"Beloved son: Health and apostolic benediction: The condition of the university at Washington has enlisted Our deepest sympathy and concern, inasmuch as the report recently submitted by your eminence deposes that its affairs are not altogether so encouraging as we could wish. It is meet that We should follow the example of Our predecessor in the furtherance of noble projects, more especially such as are of great moment and hold out the promise of large advantage. In this spirit We are pleased to continue in the fulfillment of Our apostolic office the interest which we have long cherished toward this distinguished American foundation and even, when opportunity offers, to manifest the same more earnestly.

"Wherefore We learn with genuine satisfaction that, with the approval of all others interested in its welfare, the Trustees of the University have decided that a collection be taken up in all the churches throughout the United States annually for ten years, on the first Sunday of Advent or the first convenient Sunday thereafter, with a view of enhancing the dignity and enlarging the influence of this noble seat of learning.

"This plan, the result of their joint deliberations, We consider most likely to produce excellent results. It is, therefore, Our earnest wish and prayer that all the bishops of the country, as well as the faithful who have at heart the progress of learning and religion, should labor strenuously for the good of the university.

"That God may be pleased graciously to help this undertaking by His grace, We lovingly impart to you and the faithful committed to your care, the apostolic benediction.

"Given in Rome at St. Peter's on the 9th day of September, 1903, the first year of Our pontificate.

PIUS PP. X."

#### LETTER OF THE CARDINAL TO THE HIERARCHY OF THE UNITED STATES.

CATHEDRAL RESIDENCE, BALTIMORE,  
Nov. 12, 1903.

*Rt. Rev. Dear Sir:*

I would hesitate to address you this appeal in behalf of the Catholic University of America were it not that I have been expressly re-

quested to do so by several members of the American Hierarchy. I trust that in complying with this suggestion, I am not insisting too far on a subject which has already been brought to your attention by the recent letter of our Holy Father, in which he appointed the first Sunday of Advent, as the day on which the annual collection for the University was to be taken up, in all the churches of each Diocese in this country.

This action of the Sovereign Pontiff renders more specific the decision reached by the Trustees, at their meeting in April last, regarding the support and development of the University. The Trustees, according to the Constitutions granted the University by Leo XIII., are the representatives of the Bishops of the United States, and the University is placed, by the same authority, under the direct control and protection of the Hierarchy. It is an Institution for whose maintenance and further development we have assumed responsibilities, which we must fully discharge, for the honor of the Episcopate, as well as for the reputation of the Church.

As the day appointed for the collection is at hand, I deem it my duty, in behalf of the Trustees, to place before you the needs of the Institution to meet which an appeal is now made to all the faithful of this country. That these needs are fully appreciated by the Holy Father, is evident from the fact that one of the earliest measures of his pontificate, is in favor of the University, and that his first communication to the Hierarchy of the United States, expresses his concern for the welfare of this pontifical Institution. The example which he thus gives of devotion to the interests of the Church, is worthy of his exalted station, and it behooves us, in conformity with his express desire, to carry out the undertaking, which we unanimously recommended in our Plenary Council, and for which we asked and obtained the solemn approval of the Holy See.

The reigning Pontiff, no less than his illustrious predecessor, realizes keenly the necessity of so strengthening our system of Catholic education that the generosity of our people and the devotion of our clergy, in maintaining elementary and secondary schools, may reach its fitting consummation in the work of the University. It is plain that the sacrifices made in so many ways for the education of Catholic youth, should not have as their final result the sending of those same young men, at the most critical period of their intellectual and moral formation, to institutions placed beyond Catholic control. On the other hand, if our schools and colleges are to serve successfully the purpose for which they have been founded it is necessary that their teachers be fully as well prepared as the teachers in other insti-

utions of like grade, and this preparation should be received under the salutary influence which only a well equipped Catholic university can exert.

The generous endowment of educational institutions by non-Catholics is one of the most significant movements in our national life. That Catholics, who have contributed so freely to so many other needs of the Church, are ready, in respect of educational zeal, to rival their non-Catholic fellow-citizens, we may take as an assured fact. What is requisite to direct their generosity towards the work of higher education is a clear perception of its importance and necessity.

Signal proofs of this willingness have been given already in the endowment, by individuals and by Associations, of Chairs in our University, an evidence of generosity which the Holy See, on various occasions, has greatly approved. But, in justice to their founders and benefactors, the work which they began for the advantage of the entire Catholic body, should now be brought to completion by the united endeavor of all our people, that thus every Catholic in this country may feel a direct and personal interest in the University, its work and its success.

This work is of such a nature that it must progress: it cannot safely be allowed to remain stationary. The University has a plant and endowments, amounting in all to about \$2,000,000 contributed by the generosity of our clergy and laity. It is now necessary that we make good what has already been done, by adding such endowments as will complete the Faculties, meet extraordinary expenses, and place the institution on a self-sustaining basis. For the Church in our country to do this would not require such an extraordinary effort. And once fully equipped, the University would be the source of blessings innumerable for ages to come to the young and vigorous Church of the United States. New demands are made each year upon the University for better equipment of the existing departments, and even for the establishment of other departments, without which the several courses of instruction must be fragmentary, and for that reason in no condition to attract the large number of students, for whom they are intended. An exhibit of the financial condition of the University is now being prepared, and will, as soon as possible, be placed in the hands of the Bishops; this will be done hereafter annually.

How much good our University may do in the future, when it is thoroughly equipped for its work, we may infer from the good which it has already done in the short period of fifteen years, despite adverse circumstances, and its unfinished condition. How much good it may do for the Church in this country, we may also infer from what the

Catholic University of Louvain has done for the Catholic people of Belgium. It is admitted that it has saved that nation to the Catholic faith;—a magnificent recompense for the annual collection which the Bishops order in the interest of that great school. It is an instructive fact that the Catholic University of Louvain, notwithstanding its vast student body, and the fees thence accruing, would be unable to prosecute its work, were it not for this annual collection. Leo XIII. of happy memory, has publicly registered his hope that the Catholic University of America should be to the American people what the Catholic University of Louvain is to the people of Belgium,—the bulwark of Religion and the crown of our Catholic educational system.

In all earnestness, therefore, as Chancellor of our University, I make this appeal to you, and through you to our clergy and people, in order that this first recommendation of our Holy Father, Pius X., may meet with such a generous response as to prove publicly our loyalty to the Vicar of Christ, who has asked us to make a united effort on behalf of a work, which is identical with the cause of the Catholic religion in the United States, and promises so much for the welfare of Church and country.

JAMES CARDINAL GIBBONS,  
*Chancellor of the Catholic University of America.*

#### LETTER OF THE CARDINAL TO HIS CLERGY.

ARCHDIOCESE OF BALTIMORE, CHANCERY OFFICE,  
408 N. CHARLES STREET, November 10, 1903.

*Rev. Dear Father:*

At a meeting of the Archbishops in Washington not many months ago the decision was unanimously adopted to appeal to all the faithful in the United States on the First Sunday of Advent, November 29, 1903, for funds to carry on successfully the noble enterprise of higher education through the great University at Washington. Those Archbishops who were not present at that meeting heartily endorsed the project of their fellow prelates. The wisdom of their action cannot be questioned. Men of large experience, keenly alive to the country's needs, fully appreciating its progress in all other directions, they felt compelled to urge equal advancement in the intellectual and religious development of both clergy and laity. The judgment of these men, who are the divinely appointed leaders of Christ's flock, should, and certainly will, be accepted without demur by the faithful at large.

But a more authoritative voice has spoken. The decision of the Archbishops has been accepted, approved and emphasized by the de-



cision of the Holy See. His Holiness Pius X. has written to me as Chancellor of the University, and through me to all the Bishops of the United States, expressing his fullest sympathy with this contemplated movement, exhorting the faithful to correspond generously to the appeal, and promising the Apostolic Benediction to all who coöperate in the larger and fuller endowment of this University. And who comprehends more fully than he the benefits which the Catholic Church must derive from a University well equipped and amply endowed? The sovereign Pontiff in every age of the Church has always held universities to be a most potent factor in the spread and preservation of Christ's kingdom upon earth. Hence it was that the early history of universities is marked by the special favors and privileges conferred by the Popes on all University students, and by the rich legacies and foundations made to those high seats of learning by both clergy and laity. In a word, the Church has ever realized that the University is a great intellectual force for clergy and laity; for the clergy, since it adorns them with all the culture of their age and thereby makes them skillful in meeting the objections of adversaries of the Faith; for the laity, since it offers them the best advantages for the most scientific training.

It was then in keeping with its most venerable traditions that the Church established in the United States the Catholic University. And surely no one can deny that its foundation was timely. Behold the number of non-Catholic universities in our country! It is moreover but right that all should contribute to the support of this great project, because a University needs for its support far greater resources now than in the past. Our brethren in Europe have generously supported their universities by diocesan collections. And surely we should not be less generous nor less broad-minded than so many of our fellow-citizens, who, from no religious motive contribute so munificently to the numerous non-Catholic universities of our land. Moreover in its short life the Catholic University has already won for itself an intellectual prominence which few other universities have reached in the same period of time. All this gives good reason for presuming that its future will be bright indeed if the faithful contribute to its support with a self-sacrificing generosity born of faith in the usefulness of a university to the Church, and if at all times they lend the moral support of their sympathy and well-meaning admiration. Finally, this is the first appeal of our Holy Father, Pius X., to us, his American children, to support a work in which he manifests so much interest. Shall we not then justify his expectation to the full and make this occasion memorable by our cordial and generous support?

Kindly announce this collection at all the Masses on Sunday, November 22, as well as on the day of collection.

Faithfully Yours in Christ,

JAMES CARDINAL GIBBONS,

*Archbishop of Baltimore.*

P. C. GAVAN, *Chancellor.*

#### LETTER OF ARCHBISHOP KEANE.

ST. RAPHAEL'S CATHEDRAL, DUBUQUE,

Nov. 3d, 1903.

TO THE CLERGY AND LAITY OF THE ARCHDIOCESE OF DUBUQUE:

*Venerable and Beloved Brethren:*—One of the first acts of our Holy Father, Pope Pius X., has been to appeal to all the Catholics of the United States in behalf of the Catholic University of America. The text of the Papal Brief, addressed to his Eminence Cardinal Gibbons, is as follows:

*Beloved Son: Health and Apostolic Benediction.*

The condition of the University at Washington has enlisted our deepest sympathy and concern, inasmuch as the report recently submitted by Your Eminence deposes that its affairs are not altogether so encouraging as We could wish. It is meet that We should follow the example of Our Predecessor in the furtherance of noble projects, more especially such as are of great moment and hold out the promise of large advantage. In this spirit We are pleased to continue, and, as far as may be, to increase in the exercise of the Apostolic office, the interest which We have ever cherished towards this distinguished American foundation. Wherefore, We learn with genuine satisfaction that the Bishops, charged with the administration of this worthy institution, have proposed, with the approval of all others interested in its welfare, that a collection be taken up in all the churches throughout the United States, annually for ten years, on the First Sunday of Advent or the first convenient Sunday thereafter, with a view of enhancing the dignity and enlarging the influence of this noble seat of learning. This plan, the result of their joint deliberations, We consider most beneficial.

It is, therefore, Our earnest wish and prayer that all the Bishops of the country, as well as the faithful who have at heart the progress of learning and religion, should labor strenuously for the good of the University. That God may be pleased graciously to help this undertaking by His Grace, We lovingly impart

to you and to the faithful committed to your care, the Apostolic Benediction.

Given in Rome, at St. Peter's on the 9th day of September, 1903, the first year of Our Pontificate.

PIUS PP. X.

To respond to this appeal of our Holy Father is for me a labor of love. Ten of the best years of my life were, in obedience to our Holy Father Leo XIII., consecrated to the task of laying the foundations of the Catholic University of America. The seven years which have since elapsed have only deepened my conviction that the future of the University is inseparably bound up with the future of the Church in our country.

In the century now opening, the welfare of religion everywhere, and especially in our land of popular liberties, will above all depend upon the perfection of the system of Christian Education. It must be a system embracing not only the elementary schools which are such a blessing to the masses of our people, and the colleges in which our picked youth are carried still further in their studies, but also the University, in which the very broadest and deepest and highest education is offered to those whom nature and Divine Providence have fitted to be the leaders of popular thought and action. If it is essential, as we all hold, that the rank and file of humanity should be rightly drilled and fitted for a life that will be both intelligent and Christian, still more imperative is it that the training of those who are to be the leaders of men should be thoroughly Christian as well as scientific.

To supply this great need was the object of the Third Plenary Council in decreeing the University, and of our lamented Holy Father in urging its establishment. Like all other institutions of great importance, its beginnings have been accompanied with many difficulties. But it has lived bravely through them all, and stands to-day the unquestioned head of the Catholic Educational System in the United States. This fact is attested by the action of most of the Religious Orders in grouping their houses of study around the University.

Thus far, the great work has been developed and carried on chiefly through the bountiful offerings of a limited number of individual Catholics, who have had intelligence enough to recognize that the noblest use they could make of a portion of their wealth was to consecrate it to the central institution of Catholic learning, so earnestly commended to them by the Holy Father and the Bishops. Now the time has come to solidify the foundations of the University forever, and to give needed development to some of its most important depart-

ments, by the combined action of all the Catholics of the entire country. Hence, this appeal made to them by the Bishops and by our Holy Father.

In compliance therewith, I hereby direct that in every church of the Archdiocese a collection for the Catholic University of America be taken up on the first Sunday of Advent. If in any locality impossible on that day it must be taken up on the earliest possible Sunday thereafter. And I earnestly request the Rev. Clergy to enter with all their hearts into the wish of the Holy Father, and to commend the cause to the generosity of their people with all earnestness.

JOHN JOSEPH KEANE,

*Archbishop of Dubuque.*

## UNIVERSITY CHRONICLE.

**University Appointments.**—Rev. John Webster Melody, D.D., has been appointed Instructor in Moral Sciences. Dr. Melody is a priest of the archdiocese of Chicago. He received the degree of A.B. from St. Ignatius College, Chicago, in 1885, that of A.M. from St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, in 1887, and in 1889 that of S.T.B. from the same school. In 1893 he received the degree of S.T.L. from the Catholic University, and in 1903 was graduated from the University with the degree of Doctor of Sacred Theology.

Rev. Patrick Joseph Healy, D.D., has been appointed Instructor in Church History. Dr. Healy is a priest of the archdiocese of New York. He was ordained in 1898 at St. Joseph's Seminary, Dunwoodie, New York. Dr. Healy received from the Catholic University in 1898, the degree of S.T.B., in 1899 that of S.T.L., and in 1903 was made Doctor of Sacred Theology. Dr. Healy has also been made Librarian of the University.

Rev. Maurice M. Hassett, D.D., has been appointed Instructor in Church History. Dr. Hassett is a priest of the diocese of Harrisburg. He was ordained at the Seminary of Mt. St. Mary's, Emmitsburg, Md., in 1896. He received from the Catholic University the degree of S.T.B. in 1896, and that of S.T.L. in 1897. He was created Doctor of Theology at Rome in 1903.

Rev. Francis Ignatius Purtell, S.T.L., has been appointed Instructor in Hebrew. He is a priest of the archdiocese of Philadelphia, and was ordained at St. Charles Seminary, Overbrook, in 1900. He took the degree S.T.B. at the Catholic University in 1900, and that of S.T.L. in 1901.

Rev. Dr. John Spensley has been appointed Registrar of the University and Vice-Proctor of Keane Hall. Dr. Spensley is a priest of the diocese of Albany. He was ordained at Rome from the American College in 1896. He was made Doctor of Philosophy at Rome in 1893 and Doctor of Sacred Theology in 1898.

Rev. George A. Dougherty has been appointed secretary and assistant to the Rector. He is a priest of the archdiocese of Baltimore, and was ordained at Rome from the American College in 1890.

**Solemn Opening of the University.**—The University opened its courses on Tuesday, October 6. On Sunday, October 11, took place the Solemn Mass of the Holy Ghost. It was sung by Very Rev.

Charles P. Grannan, D.D., Acting Rector. He also presided at the taking of the oath by the professors.

**Doctorate Examinations.**—Three Doctors of Theology were created at the Commencement on Wednesday, June 10. They were Rev. John W. Melody, S.T.L. (Catholic University), of the archdiocese of Chicago; Rev. Patrick J. Healy, S.T.L. (Catholic University), of the archdiocese of New York, and Rev. Maurice O'Connor, S.T.L. (Catholic University), of the archdiocese of Boston. On the same occasion, the degree of Doctor of Philosophy was conferred on Rev. Charles A. Dubray, S.M., and Rev. Thomas V. Moore, C.S.P.

**The Apostolic Mission House.**—The edifice destined for the work of the Apostolic Missionary Union is about completed. It is hoped that at an early date it will be ready to receive its first students.

**The Dominican House of Studies.**—The corner stone of this edifice was laid on Sunday, August 16, by Most Rev. Diomedea Falconio, Apostolic Delegate, in the presence of a numerous assemblage. Rt. Rev. William H. O'Connell, D.D., Bishop of Portland, preached the discourse of the occasion.

**The Institute of Pedagogy**—The Institute which, through the courtesy of the Jesuit Fathers, had been located, during the academic year 1902-03, at St. Francis Xavier's College in New York, was transferred in October to the Cathedral College Building at the corner of Madison Avenue and Fifty-first Street. The courses of instruction for 1903-04 are as follows:

*History of Education:* Rev. Edward A. Pace, Ph.D.

*Principles and Methods of Education:* John H. Haaren, LL.D.

*Psychology:* Rev. Thomas V. Moore, Ph.D.

*American History:* Charles H. McCarthy, Ph.D.

*English Literature:* John V. Crowne, Ph.D.

*Genetic Psychology:* Rev. Francis P. Duffy, S.T.B.

**Bequest from Archbishop Katzer.**—The late Archbishop of Milwaukee has bequeathed to the University the sum of \$1,800. The University acknowledges with gratitude this generous gift. Its professors and students will not fail to remember in their prayers the soul of the deceased prelate.

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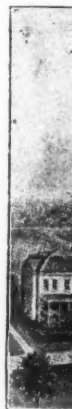
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